DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 178 734 CE 023 028

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TITLE Transition from School to Work: An Intercountry Study.
INSTITUTION Georgetown Univ., Washington, D.C. Public Services Lab.
SPONS AGENCY National Center for Education Statistics (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE 1 Mar 79
NOTE 212p.; Not available in paper copy due to broken type

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Adult Education; Articulation (Program); *Continuous Learning; Cooperative Education; Education Work Relationship; Employment Opportunities; Employment Programs; Evaluation Methods; Federal Programs; *Information Needs; *National Programs; Postsecondary Education; Program Administration; *Program Evaluation; Program Planning; Skill Development; Unemployment; Vocational Adjustment; Work Experience Programs; Young Adults; *Youth Employment; Youth Programs
IDENTIFIERS Europe; *School to Work Transition; United States

ABSTRACT

This volume reviews measures and programs recently undertaken by governments in several different countries to address youth unemployment and school-to-work transition. Focus is on studies of assessment methods and data needs (Part 1) and recurrent education (Part 2). The first three studies emphasize the development of assessment methods. One suggests a general methodology for assessing cooperative education programs in the U.S. and offers specific guidelines; another gives information about the Work Experience Program in Britain and assessment criteria; a third uses economic and sociological inquiry to suggest expected outcomes of apprenticeship policies in France. Other studies report findings from recent surveys of programs: In one, the authors outline the goals and operation of part-time compulsory education in Holland; another examines off-the-job skill training for young school leavers as a link between schooling and life; several new Italian programs to improve school-to-work transition and reduce unemployment are described in a third; two Swedish programs, covered by the fourth study, offer employment subsidies for the hiring of young people to replace older employees during the latter's training periods. The first study in Part II asks why, in the light of fiscal, demographic, and labor force trends, there is so little recurrent education; the second presents data on "further education" in France and Germany and how this relates to the school-to-work transition.

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TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK: AN INTERCOUNTRY STUDY

Public Services Laboratory
Georgetown University

Prepared for National Center for Educational Statistics under contract No. 300-76-0253 with the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Project Officer: Logan C. Osterndorf

March 1, 1979

CE 023 028

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
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PREFACE

This volume is the second and final research report by the Public Services Laboratory of Georgetown University to the U.S. National Center for Education Statistics under the provisions of research contract no. 300-76-0253. The first report was "Indicators of Youth Unemployment and Education in Industrialized Nations," and reported a large quantity of statistical data from industrialized countries on education and employment of young people. These data can be used to understand the dimensions of the problem of youth unemployment and the transition from school to work for young people.

This report is intended to assist policy makers in fulfilling their responsibilities to provide the best possible programs to reduce youth unemployment and improve the transition from school to work. To do this, the focus is on the assessment of measures and programs recently undertaken by governments to solve these problems. In particular, assessment methods and data needed to enable assessments to go forward are the subject of the inquiries made by the authors of the chapters in this volume.

Because several European countries have recently adopted quite different measures for combating youth unemployment and easing the school-to-work transition, contributors to this volume have been obtained from several authors in different countries. In this way, a variety of experiences and perspectives are brought to bear on the topic of assessment methods and data needs.

The volume begins with a general treatment of the topic in an introductory statement by Selma J. Mushkin, "Transition from School to Work: Criteria for Assessment." In Part I, a series of seven country studies is presented, each one reporting on a particular type of measure or program. In Part II, new developments in recurrent education as a basic reform of the relationship between school and work are examined.

Selma J. Mushkin
Stanley D. Nollen
Editors

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This volume on the assessment of the transition from school to work in selected industrialized nations would not have been possible without the helpful cooperation of the staff of the OECD. The papers presented herein are drawn from the July 1978 intercountry Paris conference on Education and Working Life which OECD collaborated with the Public Services Laboratory in sponsoring. Following the conference, OECD staff was invaluable in expediting the preparation and delivery of final manuscripts from the European authors.

The staff of the NCES has been consistently and patiently helpful at all stages of this project.

Selma J. Mushkin and Stanley D. Nollen collaborated in the editing of this volume.

Alva Wood has been of inestimable assistance in the typing of these manuscripts as she was in the preparation of the first volume of the overall project.

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TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK:
CRITERIA FOR ASSESSMENT

SELMA J. MUSHKIN

The high rate of unemployment among young persons has focused attention on the problem of transition from school to work. National governments have taken measures to cope with the problem and have begun to ask: What is the impact of the actions we have taken? What could we do differently to reduce youth unemployment? What would be the likely impacts both in terms of gains and costs of optional measures? The purpose of this paper is to provide guidance for the assessment of existing programs and of options to those existing programs. A number of general principles are proposed, the varied objectives of transition programs are identified, criteria corresponding to objectives are suggested, and data requirements are discussed.

The present paper is not designed as a manual incorporating the methods and steps for rigorous evaluation of transition programs. Among other things, two central ingredients of such rigorous examination are not discussed here, namely: assessment of alternatives (including cost-benefit or cost-effectiveness analysis) and comparison of results (with a control group, previous performance, or some other established standard). Instead we intend that the paper provide background material for beginning the process of reviewing the performance of transition programs within nations by identification of objectives and specification of criteria. This paper, together with ensuing discussion of it and technical papers prepared by experts on particular types of measures, is intended to produce a set of usable assessment guidelines. New data needs are identified for officials concerned with data collection and with formulation and administration of measures on the transition from school to working life.

Many nations confront difficult issues in easing the transition of young persons from school to the world of work. Among such issues are these:

- Should the emphasis in the transition be on preparation for work, better job information, cooperative ties with industry, participation in work release programs, improved job referral systems, or on educational reform?

- Should job program eligibility be restricted to youth?
- Should the emphasis be on private sector employment or public service jobs?
- Should the educational system be altered to interact with manpower and employment programs?
- Should preference be given in job creation to those who are on public assistance or otherwise receiving low incomes?
- Should training for new employment be done in formal vocational education courses or should industry take on the training (with or without subsidy)?
- What type of incentive should be used to encourage public or private job creation? Subsidies, tax deductions, tax credits?

Hard questions about the transition from school to work must be asked if assessments are to be carried out. Too often the right questions are not asked, much less answered.

Transition from School to Work

Why the problem of transition? Educational systems in most nations create an artificial separation between learning (school) and living (work). The longer the period of the education, the longer the period of artificial separation. Stated differently, the boy, or girl, who worked on the family farm or for the family enterprise, experienced little break between learning to live and learning while living. However, in most places in the Western world, competition has driven out the small scale farm and business enterprise and with it the opportunity for young persons to have a natural link between learning a job and doing a job. Extensions of opportunities for education, including adoption of the comprehensive secondary school method, are beneficial in many respects, but they also have had the effect of increasing the availability of formal education and the isolation of young persons from day-to-day real life affairs.

In place of the earlier working life style, programs are being structured to achieve the earlier easy transition, but to do so within the general climate of widespread access to education.

The types of measures which have been adopted and for which assessment criteria and data needs are studied include:

(1) Vocational education via introduction of work experience into schooling as in cooperative education.

(2) Part-time compulsory education for school leavers.

(3) Industrial training of young workers involving the school system.

(4) Employment subsidies (direct or indirect) through special tax provisions, including remission of social taxes on employers.

(5) Vocational preparation via first-year off-the-job training as a link between schooling and work life.

(6) Work experience programs for new labor force entrants with a training component available.

Principles

A number of general principles may be considered in formulating objectives and assessment criteria. These principles include:

(1) The multiple objectives of public programs require that assessment criteria be specified for each objective.

(2) Assessment criteria for each objective need to encompass the entire objective as stated.

(3) Assessments require knowledge drawn from a number of disciplines--economics, sociology, psychology, biomedical sciences. Single disciplinary approaches to assessment are at best likely to yield partial measurements.

(4) The setting of objectives of a program requires a definition of the problem, including its causes, its size and scope, its evolution, and future developments. (It is not unlikely that objectives come to be redefined during assessment as more is understood about the nature of the problem.)

(5) Monetary measurements of benefit relative to cost, e.g., rates of return, benefit-cost ratios, net benefits, are useful for across-programs comparisons. The strength of a rate of return analysis or of net benefit measurement is that it has a systematic conceptual framework, a history of use in the public sector, and provides a single summary statement of results comparable for alternative actions. Frequently, important information is not revealed in the summarization such as numbers of persons affected by age, and important consequences

are omitted from the assessment because they are not routinely translated into monetary terms.

(6) In the formulation of objectives, efficiency objectives and equity objectives each need to be considered separately. Purposes of efficiency and of equity in particular often ? call for conflicting actions. Reductions in unemployment, or increased skill levels, cannot be compared to equity outcomes that define who receives the benefits by income and other characteristics and who pays the costs.

(7) Non-linearities between costs and measures of program impact need to be identified. (For example, the first 25 percent increase in placements, graduations, or enrollments, may be obtained more easily (at lower student cost) than the next 25 percent.)

(8) Assessment of programs at an existing scope, level of operation, or coverage does not necessarily provide guidance on relative progress toward meeting objectives at different places, future time periods, or different sizes and scopes at the same place and time.

(9) Specific criteria are required for each of the institutions involved in a program. (For example, transition programs involve, directly or indirectly, several disparate institutions: educational institutions, labor markets, and business enterprises, and for each the objective and specific yardstick will be quite different. Effects on public schools are gauged in a different manner from effects on private employers. Interaction effects between the education and work sectors need to be identified, both positive and negative, in order to get a comprehensive assessment.)

(10) Specified criteria are required for each of the target groups of the program, e.g., for transition programs, this includes all young persons, students, adult workers, students' families, unemployed, employers, schools, and community. Separate accounting of costs and returns to each group provides considerable information useful for judging program success.

(11) Cause-effect relationships are usually difficult to identify. Caution in attributing outcomes to a particular program is always advised; multivariate analysis and disaggregated variables help somewhat.

What Are the Objectives of Transition Programs?

A good transition program requires that its objectives be clearly formulated in their several dimensions. Each nation and each community within a nation has the task of determining what those objectives are.

How is the effectiveness of transition programs to be assessed? How can we know what a nation really gets for the resources it spends on transition programs? How do we know when the broad education and employment purposes are met? The measurement of success or failure can only be done in terms of the objectives as a nation formulates them for itself.

Until recently, educational programs, including transition programs, have been measured in terms of inputs. Such criteria as dollars spent per student, the amount of subsidy per new worker employed, the proportion of young persons participating in the program, and teacher training and qualifications were the operative criteria in judging the performance of a transition program.

Criteria that take account of objectives change the basis for assessment from such input or process variables to output variables that can yield more direct measurement of deficiencies, gaps, and additional requirements.

When the objectives of transition programs are identified, the outputs or achievements can also be described and quantified (with a little luck). Such measurements can be used to determine the actual results of budget and program decisions, for assessing such decisions, and for determining priority claims on public funds.

The formulation of output-oriented objectives in alleviating the burdens of youth unemployment is far from a simple or straightforward exercise. As indicated earlier, most programs do not have single objectives; there are multiple purposes to be served and often purposes may prove conflicting. Multiple objectives tend to be especially characteristic of educational measures. The multiplicity has a political strength, in that, a consensus may be forged among groups with rather diverse expectations. The ways in which objectives are formulated depend on the basic values of public officials and the views they hold about priorities.

Target groups.--The objectives of measures on the transition from school to working life may identify different groups in the population as targets of concern:

- the young persons themselves
- their families
- the community
- the educational establishment
- employers and industry
- the nation.

A primary objective of attacks on youth unemployment may be the immediate political stability of the nation, or stability required for industrial development. Or the concern may be longer run in terms of the adult roles later of the young persons now unemployed. When youth are the target, the value structure becomes especially important.

Other objectives too are clearly involved. The community's well-being may be at issue with an immediate concern of mitigating hardships of unemployment so that youth will find themselves wanted by society rather than outcasts. Crime avoidance is a community objective together with all the spread-out impacts that follow from crime.

The educational establishment has until recently had a passive role, yet it bears the brunt of anticipated rejection by the students of school. The learning achievements of young people may be impaired by the alienation resulting from barriers to jobs. "What good is this learning going to be to me?"

Jobs or jobs plus.--Objectives may be considered on a more specific level. An immediate objective of transition programs is to achieve jobs for youth. This immediate objective often requires further elaboration. It is jobs for youth at some standard of pay, learning, and job satisfaction. The immediate objective, furthermore, has a follow-up objective of advancement in the future (including social, economic, or geographic mobility) and increased motivation to work and productivity. Objectives of jobs for youth could be pursued at the expense of jobs for those in other age groups. Thus, another objective becomes an integral part of programs intended to alleviate youth unemployment, namely, jobs for youth without impairing the job prospects of others in the population.

Public sector impacts.--Other public purposes more directly related to the public purse are sometimes advanced, namely, reducing the public costs of unemployment, such as unemployment benefit or welfare payments, or increasing the tax base. Direct cash payments to the unemployed or those with inadequate incomes are costly but per person "treated" the costs tend to be lower than that of programs involving the bureaucracy in provision of administrative services. When a job program is used, the income generated by the new jobs also generates new revenues for the government. Such additional revenues become an offset to cost.

Equity as a purpose.--Objectives of transition programs between school and work may include the objective of greater equality--equal opportunity to learn skills needed for work force participation, equal access to knowledge about employment opportunities, equal access to jobs, and equal access to high-paid occupations.

Europe, engaged in its educational reforms of the 1960's, started from a traditional system of duality in which high academic performers were put into separate secondary school tracks leading to the university and to professional employment. Children with lower performance at age 10, 11, or 12 were moved into a manual track which called for completion of schooling in fewer years and with lesser academic content. The broadening of opportunities for access to higher education and adoption of comprehensive high schools were moves toward greater equity. Expectations of those admitted to the university and other institutions of higher education, however, were those of the upper and middle classes, who earlier had almost exclusive access to such education and the employment associated with university graduation. The consequence has been a frustration of those student expectations due to unemployment or underemployment.

Personal development objectives.--Discussion on assessment of transition programs is sometimes premised on the odd notion of an abstract person who has no emotions, motivations, values, attitudes, interests, or personality characteristics to influence, guide, and direct behavior. This naive view is being corrected formally by (a) social science research on a broad spectrum of variables beyond access to a job (or information about a job), (b) empirical studies of the differences in the self-concept, habits, attitudes, and motivational dynamics of lower-class compared to upper or middle-class young persons which derive from different environments and early childhood, and (c) analyses of the role of motivational and personality characteristics in finding and holding jobs and advancing in career paths.

Unless young persons have confidence in their own ability to succeed, and that they, by their own efforts, can bring success about, much of the resources spent to relieve the unemployment situation by special transition programs will go to waste. Important measures of assessment thus come to be attitudes toward self and toward society.

Criteria

Assessment requires that direct indicators of progress toward achievement of objectives be quantified, when they are available, and indirect measures used when more direct indicators are not easy to come by. It is often desirable to attempt to indicate judgmentally (e.g., by a Delphi process) directions of change of outcomes for which quantification, either direct or by proxy, cannot be carried out.

Is the activity or program a success? This question cannot be answered unless there are yardsticks available by which to assess progress.

Because of the multiplicity of objectives, measurement on all dimensions is frequently difficult, and a choice among objectives has to be made in arriving at a workable set for purposes of assessment. Among the problems encountered in this choice is the lack of agreement among officials in government who have an interest and concern. Often a workable formulation of criteria can be arrived at, however, without reaching full accord by using particular indicators and moving toward agreement on those indicators, setting aside disagreement on basic objectives.

In selecting the indicators, the following questions should prove useful:

- Do the indicators encompass the entire objective as stated?

- Are the indicators subject to measurement by recent and reliable (and preferably recurrent) information?

- Is the information required by the indicators already available? (If not, are the costs of data collection reasonable in terms of size and significance of the objective?)

- Will the indicators (and the information that supports them) be clear to potential users?

The essential concern is to select criteria or indicators of progress toward program objectives that are functional. The criteria presented draw for the most part on information that exists in a number of countries either as part of the nation's statistical base, or as part of program account keeping. In some instances, new data would have to be collected and even new instruments designed to achieve the desired information.

Objectives referred to in the earlier section are listed together with illustrative criteria that might be applied in measuring the achievements toward the defined objectives. Some transition programs will have other objectives in mind; some will generate data on progress that differ from those listed.

For assessment purposes, particularly for assessment of alternatives, the criteria would have to be selected with a view to feasibility, cost, and the dangers of information overload. Experience indicates a maximum of five or six criteria as program yardsticks. The selections presumably will be based on each nation's formulation of purposes and the data that are most readily available for that nation.

Objective	Illustrative Criteria
EMPLOYMENT	
Jobs for youth who are out of school	Number and percent of school leavers and of trainees employed Percent who retain jobs by length of employment Percent of jobs held by trainees that are new; percent in which trainee is a substitute
Access of youth to regular labor market	Number and percent of jobs created that are permanent Number and percent of temporary job holders who achieve permanent status Percent of youth employed in permanent jobs Percent of jobs (public and also private) by occupational skill level that could be filled by school leavers, all youth, in special target groups Number of youth served by employment exchanges
Reduction in youth unemployment	Number and percent of youth unemployed Ratio of youth unemployed to total unemployed Number of spells of unemployment of students participating in transition programs and duration of such unemployment
Learning on the job	Number and percent of all youth and of trainees who have an opportunity to learn skills on the job Increase in earnings with length of employment Frequency of promotion Number of jobs with a payoff to training Number and percent of all youth who are offered scholarships or other financial awards to go to special industry training programs Number and percent of youth participating in transition program who also participated in earlier special work-study programs

Objective	Illustrative Criteria
Pay and access to advance	Median and variance of earnings of program participants relative to others Age-earnings profile; present value of future earnings Attitudes toward money and pay increases as recognition of job success Number and percent who decline to participate in a program because of pay scale Number and percent of trainees who are promoted after designated time intervals Number and percent of trainees who undertake further training on or off the job Degree of responsibility in the job
Maintenance of jobs for non-youth	Reduction in jobs held by adult workers Number and percent of adults in the labor force who are unemployed (male and female) traceable to youth program Estimated number and ratio of job substitutions rather than new job creations Attitudes of older workers to special youth programs
Private employer incentives in hiring youth	Differential cost of hiring youth under the program, including (a) pay, (b) productivity, (c) employer costs of training, turnover, absenteeism, recruiting, and (d) social costs (social insurances, workmen's compensation) Community attitudes toward business firm Wage (and other cost) elasticity of demand for young workers
Job satisfaction	Percent of youth placed who are satisfied with their jobs Percent of youth who are oriented toward work who are satisfied with their job

Objective	Illustrative Criteria
Motivation of youth to work	*Measured motivation to work *Instruments on measuring such attitudes as work builds character, develops ability, and need achievement
SCHOOLS AND TRAINING INSTITUTIONS	
Improved attitudes	*Student attitudes: (number and percent who like, dislike) Number and percent of school leavers who participate in educational offerings Amount of vandalism Number and percent of truancies Reasons for participating in program
Curriculum updating	Number of new courses introduced Percent of students enrolled in new courses Percent of employers who find school training adequate
Improved school retention	Number participating as trainees, work release students, etc. Number and percent who participated in similar transition program and ratio Number of school dropouts Number and percent of transition program students completing program
Work skill and knowledge achieved	*Achievement test scores of transition program students *Attitudes about work of transition students *Attitudes about self of transition program students

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* Criteria requiring use of sociological or psychological instruments are identified. There are large numbers of such instruments in existence; the task is mainly one of selection among existing instruments.

Objective	Illustrative Criteria
PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT	
Improved self-concept, confidence, self-esteem	*Number and percent of transition program students by self-esteem score, and scores on related instruments measuring self-concept, self-confidence
Development of need achievement	*Number and percent of transition program students by need-achievement scores
Improved outlook about society	*Number and percent of transition program students according to scoring on tests of external-internal control, fatalism, work ethic
Improved skill and knowledge levels	*Achievement test scores Measured performance on the job
Attitudes toward learning and knowledge	*Measured score on attitudes toward learning Number and percent of age group not in school, not at work Number and percent of youth discouraged from labor force participation
FISC	
Efficient resource use	Cost of program per trainee Cost of program per new job Net cost of program per trainee after allowance for cost offsets Change in costs with change in scale of program, e.g., incremental cost per trainee for program expansion Proportion of resources used which would otherwise be idle Benefits received relative to cost
Reduced income maintenance payments	Change in amount of unemployment benefits paid to youth Change in amount of welfare payments paid to youth

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* See page 11.

Objective	Illustrative Criteria
Reduced social costs	Reductions in expenditures for public safety Number and percent of youth with criminal records Number and percent of young girls arrested for prostitution Adolescent pregnancy rate Youth crime rates Number and percent of youth abusing drug usage Amounts of public housing vandalism and percentage attributed to youth
Increased revenue	Estimated added tax revenues attributed to more jobs for youths; higher earnings of youths

Program impacts do not all relate to the same time period. On the contrary, some of the impacts are immediate, some secondary feedbacks, and some tertiary that define intergenerational impacts. Examples of these objectives may be grouped schematically as follows:

Primary

Jobs (e.g., number in job, number and percentage unemployed)
Higher earnings (e.g., change in youth earnings)
Opportunities for career advances (e.g., number of youth reporting promotions)
Greater skill and knowledge (e.g., change in achievement test scores)

Secondary

Improved productivity (e.g., changes in earnings)
Reduced alienation and crime (e.g., lower crime rates)
Improved personal development (e.g., improved self-confidence scores)
Reduced family tensions (e.g., lower number of divorces)
Improved knowledge and skill in the adult population (e.g., measures of educational achievement)

Tertiary

Improved performance of sibling and children (e.g., number and percent of relatives of trainees who gain information about occupations and job)
Greater motivation for child learning (e.g., learning achievement of children by achievement level of parents)
Improved child care (e.g., number and percent of young mothers who understand about child care)

Some of the feedback or intergenerational impacts may be negative rather than positive. Programs that fail to achieve a final personal development purpose, for example, a job with prospects for advance, may contribute to alienation and personal and family stress.

If equity is an objective of transition programs, as well as efficiency, assessment criteria include measurements of who benefits and who pays by social and economic status. One question is who bears the tax burden which generates the revenues to pay the programs. To assess benefits, characteristics, such as sex, age, race, parents' occupation, previous education, and previous employment for program beneficiaries, would be recorded.

Data Needs

Assessments absorb much information. While considerable data are available about youth, schools, and jobs that are useful for assessment purposes, there are gaps. Existing data are likely to fall short of measuring the outcomes of optional transition programs. However, with the data that are available in most states, an important beginning can be made. The illustrative criteria listed are intended to start a process of (1) reviewing available data, (2) collection and compilation of short-term, low-cost data, and (3) subsequently improving measurements.

Indeed, there may be a sequential iterative process of data improvement that is implicit in assessment work. Beyond the initial short-term phase, the questions raised about the way programs work and about the causative chains (for example, from self-concept to learning, or from finding to holding a job) necessitate more fact gathering and more and better instrumentation.

Nations, in coping with the demands for accountability through assessment, have sought to improve instrumentation so that job satisfaction, self-esteem, work ethic, self-confidence, external-internal control, need achievement, and the like can be measured with greater validity. Fact gathering on these measures is going forward.

Similar fact gathering is ongoing involving the gathering of data on achievements (skills and knowledge) in the population generally and in applying achievement test instruments to the "treated" group in the population.

In any case, the fact gathering that is undertaken has to be commensurate with the gains from analysis and evaluation. Fact gathering is costly, especially experimental and longitudinal surveys. Commitment of the government to assessment is likely over time to provide the funds required to understand program performance.

Data usable for assessment may come from a variety of sources and in a variety of forms. For example, case studies may be used for small scale but intensive programs, when relevant criteria are not clearly identified, and when relationships among criteria need to be explored. Large scale survey research may be used for easily measured criteria and large scale programs. Longitudinal data, although costly, is of special value in assessing the long-term effects on "treated" individuals, and in tracing indirect impacts of programs. Cohort data may be used to get at intergenerational effects. Panels may be used for repeated sampling. Experimentation with particular provisions under controlled circumstances is being encouraged by the need for harder data.

Given the pressures everywhere for assessment, nations will increasingly be concerned about what programs cause what impacts, for whom, and at what cost.

PART I

Introduction

In this part of the volume, seven studies of assessment methods and data needs are presented. Each study examines a particular type of measure or program in a country designed to improve the transition from school to work for young people. The countries and programs represented are:

United States - cooperative education
United Kingdom - work experience in education
France - apprenticeship subsidies
Netherlands - part-time compulsory education
West Germany - vocational preparation
Italy - European Economic Community pilot projects, and others
Sweden - relief work for youth

Some studies (particularly the first three) emphasize the development of methods to use in making assessments, as well as data needs, and they propose concrete guidelines. Other studies report some findings from recently completed surveys of the results of programs as well. The context of each study is outlined below.

In "Assessment Methods and Data Needs for Cooperative Education Program," Stanley D. Nollen suggests a general methodology for assessing cooperative education programs in the United States and introduces specific guidelines to use. He stresses the importance of first defining the problem which the program is intended to alleviate, which requires some analysis of its causes and effects. The objective(s) of the program must then be stated and specified operationally. Guidelines for proposing assessment criteria are listed, and many concrete examples of criteria are enumerated. Data needs to enable assessments to be made are finally offered.

Maureen Woodhall considers the objectives of work experience programs as a means to improve the transition from school to work for young people, and she examines how governments can assess such programs in "Assessing the Contribution of Work Experience Programs." Drawing on information about the Work Experience Program in the United Kingdom, she focuses on the criteria to be adopted in assessing such programs and on the data needs to enable governments to make assessments. The rationale and operation of the U.K. programs are described, and some evaluative comments of an illustrative nature are included. Some results from previous assessment studies are presented and inferences for future studies are drawn.

In "An Appraisal of Policies on Apprenticeships in the OECD Countries," A. Vinokur notes the changing roles and defining characteristics of apprenticeships over time, and the social and political, as well as economic and educational, objectives they serve. She briefly sketches the provisions of apprenticeship policies. The nature of the outcomes to be expected from apprenticeship policies are suggested by an economic and sociological inquiry. Some key problems with apprenticeships as a solution to youth unemployment are identified, and a list of data required to assess the effects of apprenticeship policies is included.

In "The Operation of Partial Compulsory Education in The Netherlands," Arie Mens and Rutger Bremer examine the effects of the Dutch requirement that young school leavers must continue part-time education after the compulsory schooling period. The authors outline the goals and operation of part-time compulsory education and report some results from empirical research on this program. They offer evaluative comments on administrative procedures, evasion of the requirement, differences among alternative methods of undertaking part-time compulsory education, and regional differences in outcomes. Conclusions about the role of empirical studies in the assessment of evolving programs, based on this experience, are offered.

The West German program of vocational preparation--off-the-job skill training for young school leavers as a link between schooling and working life--is examined by Frank Braun in "Vocational Preparation as a Link Between Schooling and Work Life." Braun describes developments in the education and labor sectors which give rise to the need for vocational preparation undertaken in bridging courses. He enumerates the objectives of the programs and their provisions, but focuses on criteria for assessing them, including specific guidelines enriched with evidence from the German experience. Data in hand, data being collected, and data needs yet to be filled for making assessments are described. Based on the foregoing experiences, Braun concludes with comments on the foundations of assessment.

Several new Italian experiments with programs to improve the transition from school to work and reduce youth unemployment are examined by Nadio Delai in "New Education-Work Models: Theories and Data in the Italian Case." Delai lists all of these programs, then looks at three of them closely. First is a series of pilot projects of the European Economic Community affecting students, teachers, and employers; in each case, the rationale and provisions of the projects are described, and broad assessment questions are raised. Second, a project in the south of Italy to alter vocational training for young people is examined. The main results from a recent assessment of this project are summarized, with some statistical data. Third, the provisions of a new youth employment measure are described and early problems and changes in the measure are noted.

In "Adult Training and Relief Work for Youth," G. Rehn describes the operation of two Swedish programs for promotion of the employment of youth--one for local governments and one for private enterprise. Both programs offer employment subsidies for the hiring of young people as replacements for older employees during training periods for the latter. The programs are part of the general policy--decided by Parliament--of promoting recurrent education as a principle of the education and training system as a whole and serves the double purpose of increasing levels of skills and decreasing unemployment among the young.

ASSESSMENT METHODS AND DATA NEEDS FOR COOPERATIVE EDUCATION PROGRAMS

STANLEY D. NOLLEN

One of the ways to improve the transition of young people to the world of work after they complete their initial education is to reform education by providing better links to the requirements of work life. One of these reforms is cooperative education--"a plan of education that incorporates productive work into the curriculum as a regular and integral element."[1]

Cooperative education is not a new idea. In the United States, it began in 1906 in the engineering school of a midwestern university. But it has experienced rapid growth during the past decade and is currently receiving renewed attention (along with other educational reforms, such as career education) as a way to re-establish linkages between the education and work sectors and thus help solve the problem of high youth unemployment.

In this paper, some general methods for assessing cooperative education measures are suggested in an attempt to offer technical assistance to governments that are accountable for such measures. In broad outline, assessment of measures requires first that the problem which the measure seeks to solve be defined, and second that the objectives of the measure be clearly stated. Then specific criteria for making assessments can be proposed and data needs identified to enable the assessments to be made.

Definition of the Problem

Cooperative education attempts to solve not one but several problems. These problems may be related to each other, or they may be quite independent. For example, the problem may be defined alternatively as:

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[1] James W. Wilson, "Historical Development," in Asa S. Knowles (ed.), Handbook of Cooperative Education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1971, p. 3.

- There is a faulty link between school and working life.
- Young people do not get jobs after leaving school.
- Young people require considerable vocational orientation and training before they are good workers.
- Classroom education is not relevant to work requirements or job performance.
- Young people cannot pay for their education.

The solutions to these problems can be related. If education is not relevant to work, or if young people are initially poor workers, then these problems are related to the problem that young people do not get jobs. But if young people cannot pay for their education, that problem is not related to any of the others, and separate programs are required. The design of cooperative education programs depends on a correct understanding of what the problem(s) are which the program is intended to repair.

Even the same problem which everyone acknowledges will be perceived and responded to differently by different groups. For example, if young people do not get jobs after leaving school, that will be viewed as an unemployment problem--a work sector or labor market problem--by the public authorities. It may be viewed as a curriculum problem by educational institutions, and as a problem of youth motivation as well as youth work skills by employers. Thus there are many ways of defining a problem, and in turn many ways to design cooperative education programs.

The importance of problem definition is simply that objectives of programs cannot be sensibly laid out until the problem is defined, and assessment cannot proceed unless objectives are clearly stated. If problem definition, which is deceptively simple, goes awry, so also does assessment.

The possible causes of the problem are also numerous and must be analyzed. One of the key assessment criteria must be the extent to which a program speaks to the root cause of a problem. In the case of problems for which cooperative education programs are proposed as a solution, causes may be found among the following:

- There is too little interplay between education and work sectors.
- Schooling does not adequately prepare students for work.
  - They are not offered sufficient vocational training.
  - Vocational skills they learn do not match needs of employers.
  - They are not offered sufficient working life skills.

- Guidance and counseling services are insufficient.

- Labor market information received by students is insufficient.

- Industrial training costs of young people are too high in view of the private returns to training investments obtainable by employers.

- Internal labor markets reduce employment opportunities for young people who are not attached to a firm (ports of entry are restricted).

- Employers are biased against the skills and potential of young people; or attitudes of young people toward work are negative.

- Young people have unrealistic expectations about work and/or do not effectively utilize schooling opportunities.

On the other hand, the problem of young people not getting jobs may be caused by demographic features of the society, such as a disproportionately large number of young people in the population (excess supply of young workers). The cause may be deficient aggregate demand for labor overall. Or the cause may be disincentives to employers to hire young people because of social taxes and labor law. But these causes are not susceptible to treatment by cooperative education programs. It is assumed in this paper that part of the reason for high youth unemployment is traceable to deficiencies in the transition from school to work which are correctable in part by programs of reform in education.

The effects of problems, such as deficient transition from school to working life, high youth unemployment, and irrelevant education, include adverse economic outcomes, such as:

- additional industrial training costs to impart skills not attained in school.

- lost production potential from idle young people.

- added social welfare costs for unemployment compensation and other support.

- increased turnover of young workers while they find their employment niche.

In addition, there are social and human costs of large but unknown magnitude. For example:

- discouraged workers who develop negative attitudes toward the world of work.

- psychological disillusionment and negative self-concept with adverse effects on family and interpersonal relationships.

- increased anti-social behavior, including crime and the costs of combating it and rehabilitating offenders.

Once these adverse effects are identified, they enter into the assessment process for cooperative education programs: the extent to which these adverse effects are alleviated constitutes a benefit of the program.

Objectives of Cooperative Education Programs

Assessment of programs requires that the objective of the program be stated. How well have we done compared to what we set out to do? In other words, the assessment must be reckoned in relative terms as well as absolute terms.

This stage of assessments--stating the objectives--is complicated by two factors. First, there are likely to be multiple objectives. Objectives may refer to different target groups, to efficiency and to equity outcomes, to private sector and public sector impacts, and to personal and collective goals all simultaneously. Thus conflicts may arise insofar as not all objectives can be met. How then is the assessment to be made?

Second, assessing the effectiveness with which a program meets an objective is one matter; judging the merit of the objective itself is quite another matter. Of what use is a program which effectively meets an unworthy objective? Of what use is a program which only partially meets a laudable objective? But how is the merit of the objective to be judged? Is this a program analyst's role or is this only a collective political judgment?

In the case of educational reforms, such as cooperative education, objectives which have been advanced include references to these target groups: individuals who participate, employers, institutions of education, and the governments.

For individuals, the objectives include some of all of these:

- Integrate theory with practice; combine academic learning with practical learning and thereby find meaning in both study and work.

- Aid personal development: increase motivation, self-confidence, maturity, and responsibility; provide diverse experiences to young people and a laboratory for improving human relations skills.

- Improve employment outcomes: increase the probability of obtaining a good job after schooling, reduce the time it takes to obtain a job, and increase earnings from employment.
- Aid career decisions: permit young people to test their work abilities and gain exposure to different kinds of work.
- Provide drop-out prone youths with an incentive to remain in school until graduation.
- Financial aid: provide an opportunity for students to earn part of the cost of higher education and thus continue their schooling longer than they otherwise could.

There are also objectives of cooperative education which are targeted to employers who participate:

- Improve work output and reduce labor costs.
- Aid recruiting via retention of cooperative education students as full-time employees; they are already proven and incur no additional recruiting cost.
- Reduce turnover because employees who have been cooperative education students have better work skills and a more certain career path.
- Reduce industrial training costs because cooperative education students are better prepared for work life.

Additional objectives are stated for the schools which have cooperative education programs:

- Aid financial status and increases utilization of educational plant; more students can be accommodated and more revenue produced at little additional cost if students are cooperative education students who do not spend all their time at the school.
- Improve educational quality in curriculum, student-faculty relations, intra-student relations, and classroom teaching.
- Aid recruiting for students by offering an option of interest to many young people which is not offered by all schools.
- Improve community relations from ongoing links to industry, thus easing town-and-gown tensions.

Governments are also a target group. Aside from objectives for individuals which ultimately redound to society's favor, there are three objectives of cooperative education programs unique to governments:

- Improve social equity: cooperative education is an equalizer of opportunities because its financial aid feature enables the less well-off to afford higher education and because its work experience feature appeals especially to young people from the working class and thereby draws them into continuing their education.

- Improve the fiscal status of governments: not only do the earnings of cooperative education students potentially generate additional tax revenue, but also this source of support for education (it enhances ability of students to pay tuition) means less reliance on tax support for education.

- Demonstrate the effectiveness of the measure.

Not all of these objectives are specified operationally, and hence not all of them can be unambiguously assessed in terms of their results. For example, the objective for individuals of integrating theory with practice is not specified operationally--how can its success be determined? The individual objectives of aiding personal development and career decisions might in particular programs be specified operationally, but that specification might be unique to each program. Even so, measurement in this area is quite difficult. The objective for schools of improving curricula is in a similar status. But other objectives, such as improving employment outcomes, aiding recruiting, or increasing utilization of educational plant, are operationally clear and may be assessed using the same criteria across programs.

None of these objectives speak to the possibility of negatively affected groups. Yet such effects may be found, and must be included in assessments if a balanced and comprehensive picture is to be obtained. For example, do young people without cooperative education suffer increased competition for jobs? Is there merely a displacement--better employment outcomes for some and worse outcomes for others? Is the transition from school to working life hindered for non-participants? Similarly, do non-participating schools and employers experience adverse consequences? Does the government lose income tax revenues from employers whose place is taken by cooperative education students (whose tax revenues are gained)?

Several of these objectives pertain only to the case of cooperative higher (not secondary) education for which students pay out-of-pocket tuition costs. The financial aid objective, and in part the objectives of utilization of educational plant, recruiting for students, and fiscal status of governments do not apply to fully state-supported tuition-free schools. Objectives may also vary across regions of a country as well as across countries.

Some objectives of cooperative education programs are of longer range and more enduring impact than others. This means that some outcomes of programs cannot be measured until several years have elapsed, but those outcomes will continue to be felt over an individual's lifetime. They may loom large in accumulated value (even when discounted to present value). Examples of such objectives are those of aiding personal development and career decisions, improving employment outcomes, reducing employee turnover, and improving curricula.

Design of Cooperative Education Programs

Cooperative education programs are characterized by several distinguishing features. First, they are three-party agreements (formal or informal) among school, employer, and individual. The schools may be two-year or four-year institutions of higher education or they may be secondary schools. The employers may be in the private sector or in the public sector. Each of the three actors has his own responsibilities.

Second, the work experience is a learning experience for which academic credit is given and for which tuition is paid. The work experience is a curriculum element just as classroom experience is. The school is ultimately responsible for the educational quality of the work experience. Third, the individual participant is a regular employee of the firm who usually is paid a regular wage for his or her work (the wage may be somewhat below that paid other non-coop workers). The work experience is fairly long-term (e.g., one and a half years or more in a four-year collegiate program). Sometimes the period of schooling is lengthened to accommodate the work experience.

Work experience in cooperative education may be taken in full-time doses alternating with full-time classroom schooling during the educational period, or it may be taken part-time continuously with part-time classroom schooling. Cooperative education students are year-round students. The majority of cooperative education programs are in professional and technical fields, such as engineering, business administration, and health sciences, but there are also programs in liberal arts. These programs and the students who take them are usually mixed in the same educational institution with other non-coop programs and students.

There has been legislation in support of cooperative education at federal, state, and local levels of government for some years. Because educational policy in the United States is in large part made at state and local levels and decision-making is fragmented, it is not feasible to describe a single cooperative education measure put forward by government. Rather, the main thrusts of recent federal initiatives in the United States are sketched.

The U.S. government, under Title VIII of the 1976 amendments to the Higher Education Act of 1965 (Public Law 89-329), authorizes grants to institutions of higher education for the "planning, establishment, expansion or carrying out...of programs of cooperative education." It is stipulated that these programs "provide alternating periods of academic study and of public or private employment, the latter affording students not only the opportunity to earn the funds necessary for continuing and completing their education, but, so far as practicable, giving them work experience related to their academic or occupational objectives."

Federal government assistance for cooperative education is paid directly to institutions of higher education who successfully compete for funds. Salaries and administrative expenses are payable from these funds, but none of the appropriations under this title may be used for the compensation of students by employers. Besides having a maximum dollar limit available to any one institution, no institution may receive additional funds after five years of assistance; each year funds must account for a lower percentage of administrative costs.

Grant applications are approved according to which programs exhibit the greatest promise of success either because of favorable reception by employers or the commitment of the institution to continue the program after the termination of federal financial assistance.

Assessment is not strictly built-in as a provision of the measure. However, schools must make reports and keep records to insure correct conduct of the program and to provide for fiscal accountability. In addition, research grants are separately authorized in the measure, and thus money may be but need not be used for assessment of particular programs. The nature of disbursing funds assures that programs which continue beyond the first few years of operation will be financially or otherwise viable for the educational institution. Some large assessment studies have been done under federal contract.[2]

Criteria for Making Assessments

Once the problem(s) which cooperative education programs are intended to help solve are defined, their causes and effects analyzed, and the objectives of the programs stated, then specific criteria for assessment can be proposed. Specific criteria are in fact variables for which quantitative measurements will be sought. In some cases, indicators for these variables can and should be in monetary terms, while in other cases non-monetary indicators are preferred or the only kind possible.

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[2] For example, Steven Frankel, Alan J. Cohen, and Robert T. Deane, Cooperative Education-A National Assessment. Silver Spring, Md.: Applied Management Sciences, Inc., 1978, and Morgan V. Louis, et al., School Supervised Work Experience Programs: Costs and Effects on Personal Development, Education, and Employment, Pennsylvania State University Institute for Research in Human Resources, University Park, Pennsylvania, 1976.

Assessment criteria need to be proposed for each of the multiple objectives of a cooperative education program, and they need to make reference to each of the target groups of the program. In addition, a number of guidelines need to be observed when criteria are proposed for each objective and target group:

- Outputs need to be measured as well as inputs.
- Indirect effects (spillovers, displacements) need to be measured as well as direct effects.
- Net costs--after allowing for cost offsets from other program areas--are the relevant costs to compare with benefits.
- Incremental costs--costs that are changed by decisions--are often more relevant than average costs.
- The time frame for manifestation of effects of a program will vary with the effect in question.
- A small number of criteria for each objective is satisfactory if they are operational and unambiguously measurable.
- Non-linearities in input-output relationships require measurement over a range of levels.
- Efficiency criteria will differ from equity criteria and sometimes be in conflict.
- Measurement of several criteria simultaneously may help unscramble cause-effect relationships.
- Criteria for one geographical or political region may differ from those for another region.
- Criteria for one scale of program may differ from criteria for a different scale of program.

In the case of cooperative education, objectives will be stated for individual student-employee participants, employers who provide work experience opportunities, and institutions of education whose curricula include cooperative education programs. In addition, effects on governments need to be assessed. Below several specific assessment criteria for each of several operationally-specified objectives are suggested. Of course, which criteria are actually taken up will depend on the particular objective of the cooperative education program.

Objective	Assessment Criteria
INDIVIDUALS	
Improve Employment Outcomes	Do cooperative education students get jobs faster or do they get better jobs in the same time compared to non-co-op students? Do co-op students have less incidence of unemployment? Shorter spells of unemployment? Do co-op students use their education-acquired skills more frequently than others? Do co-op students have higher post-school starting wage rates than non-co-op students? Do they have higher annual earnings (do they work more)? Does the earnings advantage of co-op students persist or even increase over their lifetime? What is the expected private monetary rate of return to investments in co-operative education? How large are earnings advantages compared to direct costs and foregone earnings costs? Are co-op students different from others in terms of age, sex, race, family background, work history, or previous schooling? Do these differences account for program outcomes? Do co-op students advance and get job promotions more rapidly than non-co-op students? Do they have higher skill jobs with more responsibilities? Is job satisfaction higher among co-op students than others? Does cooperative education improve attitudes of students toward schools, work, and society? Does cooperative education reduce tendencies of young people to permanently drop out of school? How does cooperative education alter students' choice of and participation in extracurricular activities?

Aid Personal Development	Does cooperative education increase motivation, self-confidence, maturity, autonomy, self-concept, or other desirable traits?
	What are the reasons why students elect co-op programs?
Aid Career Development	Are post-school jobs held by co-op students more closely related to their schooling compared to non-co-op students? Is their job preparation improved?
	Do co-op students have better formulated career plans than non-co-op students?
	To what extent do future job plans of co-op students match their co-op job and field of study?
	Do co-op students have more and better occupational and labor market information than non-co-op students?
	Do co-op students get more post-school training (on or off-the-job) than others in comparable jobs?
Provide Financial Aid	Are co-op students more needy than non-co-op students? What is their family income?
	What proportion of all educational expenses are potentially met by earnings from co-op jobs?
	What proportion of co-op students would not be able to go to school without earnings from co-op jobs?
	To what extent are earnings from co-op jobs offset by stretching out the period of schooling and deferring full-time employment?
Aid Recruiting	How many co-op students are offered permanent jobs with their co-op employer after completing their schooling? How many actually go to work for this employer?
	How much is the recruiting budget decreased via continued employment of co-op students? To what extent is this budget saving offset by initial intake expenses of accepting co-op students?

Improve Work Output and Reduce Labor

Are co-op students paid less wages and fringe benefits than other employees doing similar jobs? If so, is it because general training is supplied by the firm?

Are co-op students equally as productive as other employees? Do they have as good skills? Is their quality of work as good?

Do co-op students do work that other employees usually do not do?

Are firm-paid training costs in total reduced by having co-op student graduates as permanent employees (because much of their general and firm-specific training was provided during the co-op period)? To what extent is this saving offset by training provided during the co-op period?

Is turnover and absenteeism of co-op students better than for other employees doing similar jobs?

What are supervision and record keeping costs for co-op students? Do they offset wage, productivity, training, and turnover costs?

How do employers' costs and benefits vary with characteristics of co-op students (age, sex, race, length of time with firm, field of study, family background, work history, previous schooling)?

How do employers' costs and benefits vary with characteristics of the employer (size, industry, length of experience with cooperative education)?

Community Relations

Are employers' relationships with local government, schools, and the public improved because of cooperative education?

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Aid Financial Status of School

What are the incremental costs of cooperative education? What are incremental administrative costs, including guidance and placement? What are incremental faculty costs? Curriculum development costs? Facilities costs?

	What are start-up costs for a cooperative education program? Operating costs?
	How much is utilization of educational plant improved? How large are fixed costs with respect to presence or absence of co-op education? Variable costs?
	How do costs change as program size changes? Are there substantial economies of scale?
	Is variable cost per student and total cost per student higher than for non-co-op education?
	What are the incremental benefits of cooperative education? How much is government funding increased? How much is tuition revenue increased?
Improve Educational Quality of School	How does curriculum change in non-co-op programs because of feedback from co-op students and employers which provides relevance and currency?
	Are student-faculty relationships improved? Are relationships among students improved? Are classroom dynamics enlivened?
Aid Recruiting of Students	How many students choose the school because of the cooperative program?
	Are higher quality students obtained?
	Is one school's recruiting advantage another school's loss, or is there a net increase in students?
Improve Community Relations	Are interactions between the school and industry, government, and the public improved by the cooperative education program?
Improve Social Equity	Are the individual participants in cooperative education (and those whose employment outcomes are favored) the previously less well-off? What is the age, sex, race, family background, work history, and previous education of participants and non-participants?
	What are the same characteristics of taxpayers and others from whom funds to support cooperative education are obtained?

Minimize Fiscal Burden	How large are incremental revenues to government from taxes on earnings and spending by co-op students during education and after graduation? Are there losses of tax revenues from displacement of other workers by co-op students? How large are social welfare cost savings, such as unemployment compensation attributable to cooperative education? Is public support of education overall reduced via increased ability of students to pay for schooling due to earnings of co-op students? What is the net cost to government: fiscal outlays net of cost offsets, such as those above?
Demonstrate Effectiveness of Measure	Are positive results of cooperative education programs traceable to government measures themselves or would they have occurred in any event? Have other programs been initiated or expanded, and have new experiments been conducted because of the initiative of the measure? Has the measure fruitfully performed a "seed money" function?

Data Needs

Two early decisions to be made about data needs for assessment are (1) what is the unit of analysis? and (2) how are observations to be made on the unit of analysis? In the case of cooperative education, if there are objectives for individuals, employers, and educational institutions, then each will be a unit of analysis separately for different research questions. This means data will need to be collected from individuals to answer some questions and from employers and from schools to answer other questions. For example, data are required on earnings or attitudes of individuals, on productivity or recruiting experiences of employers, and on incremental costs of schools.

From whomever data are collected, the question remains whether to observe individuals (or employers or schools) over time or over space. Time-series and cross-sectional data each have their advantages and disadvantages. Interpretations made from analysis of one may differ from those from another. Often the short time frame within which assessments must be made dictates the use of cross-sectional observations.

Data needs also vary according to the level at which an assessment is being made, or according to exactly what is being assessed. Is a specific cooperative education program being assessed, or a measure which encompasses a variety of programs, or is an overall assessment of cooperative education in the nation being made? If a program is being assessed, longitudinal data following a cohort of participants and a matched control group is ideal. If an overall national assessment is being made, cross-sectional data disaggregated by relevant characteristics of participants (e.g., age, sex, race) may be satisfactory. Here variation in the types of cooperative education represented in the nation will obscure the findings of the analysis unless a sample which is homogeneous with respect to type of cooperative education can be selected.

Very little data required for assessments is routinely collected. This is partly due to the imprecise specification of the "treatment," i.e., cooperative education cannot be measured uniquely by a single variable. It is also partly due to the need for longitudinal data which are costly. Existing assessments have undertaken original data collection by special surveys.

What specific data needs for assessment of cooperative education can be indicated? Some examples follow:

- Longitudinal work history data for cohorts of individuals indicating dates of completion of cooperative education program, entry into the labor force, beginning of first post-schooling permanent employment, departure from first job, beginning of second job,..., from which duration of employment, unemployment, and periods out of the labor force can be calculated as well as promotion rates.

- Age-earnings profiles of cooperative education graduates and others, showing labor earnings (not total income) at each year of age (or experience) from which gross monetary returns to cooperative education over the employment lifetime can be calculated as well as the "staying power" of the training provided during cooperative education.

- Wage rates of cooperative education graduates by age, sex, and race, by field of study, by occupation of first employment, and with reference to the stage of the business cycle so that the partial effects of cooperative education can be distinguished from other influences on wage rates.

- Psychological measurements of attitudes and values toward school, work, self, and society taken before and after participation in cooperative education, or in comparison with similar measurements taken on non-participants with similar background characteristics.

- Objective and subjective tests of the quantity and quality of labor market information possessed by co-op students (e.g., knowledge about content of occupations, supply-demand balances in various occupations, and location of jobs in certain occupations (geographically and industrially)).

- Family background of co-op students (including variables, such as family income, parents' occupations and education, marital status of parents, number of siblings, neighborhood and housing), from which equity effects of cooperative education can be assessed, as well as factors affecting individual employment, personal and career development, and financial aid outcomes aside from or in interaction with cooperative education.
- Job performance of co-op students as measured cardinally by productivity (in physical input-output terms), turnover (voluntary and involuntary), and absenteeism compared to data on similar non-co-op students in the same work setting.
- Incremental personnel and administrative costs incurred by the employer due to cooperative education, including variables such as additional training costs (measured by direct costs of material and breakage plus indirect costs of supervisors' time and lost output) and its offsets such as lower wages for co-op employees, and reduced recruiting costs.
- Change in utilization rate of educational facilities (e.g., daily and annual use of classrooms or throughput measures, such as annual graduations) compared with change in costs of supplying cooperative education services (necessitating analysis of costs into fixed and variable categories).
- Content analysis of curriculum and courses before and after cooperative education, investigating elements, such as problem-solving, independence of study, communications, currency of instructional materials, examples, and cases....
- Source of tax revenues which support cooperative education and economic status of those taxpayers.

ASSESSING THE CONTRIBUTION OF WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAMS

MAUREEN WOODHALL

Introduction

An advertisement for the new Youth Opportunities Programme, introduced in the United Kingdom in 1978, illustrates the vicious circle in which many young people have found themselves trapped: "I can't get a job because I haven't any work experience; I can't get work experience because I haven't got a job." One of the main aims of the work experience component of the Youth Opportunities Programme, which began to operate early in 1978, and its predecessor, the Work Experience Programme which was introduced in the United Kingdom in September 1976, is to try to break this vicious circle, by providing unemployed young people with the chance to gain useful and varied work experience in the hope that this will increase their chances of finding full-time employment.

Other countries also have introduced special measures designed to improve the transition from school to working life by providing young people who have had difficulties in finding employment with practical work experience. For example, in Canada the Young Canada Works Programme was introduced in 1977 to help young people obtain practical experience, and other countries have experimented with various types of subsidy to encourage employers to provide work experience for young people who for a variety of reasons find it impossible to obtain a permanent job.

The purpose of this paper is to consider the objectives of such schemes, and to examine how governments can assess work-experience programs as a means of improving the transition for young people from school to work. It is not intended to be a detailed evaluation of any one scheme, although it will draw on the information available on the operation of the Work Experience Programme in the United Kingdom, since this scheme has been in existence far longer than the majority of similar schemes in other countries. The experience already gained in Great Britain and elsewhere with work experience programs will be used to consider what criteria should be adopted in evaluating such programs and what data and information are needed to enable governments to assess measures designed to help young people gain practical experience of working life.

Why Work Experience Programs Are Needed

In many countries, attempts are made to provide some sort of practical experience of the world of work for some young people in their final year of school. The purpose of this is primarily educational--the aim is to prepare young people for future employment by enabling them to see at first hand what it is like to work in a factory or in an office, and so to help them in the process of career choice. But inevitably, the actual work experience which can be combined with formal schooling is limited, and most schemes cannot attempt to do more than give certain young people a glimpse of the realities of working life by allowing them to gain practical experience in a job for one day a week, or for a few weeks in their final year at school.

The purpose of the work experience programs that have developed in the past few years goes further than this. The schemes are designed to help young people who have experienced difficulties in finding a job to gain extensive and varied work experience, not just for a few days a week, but on a full-time basis, for up to six months. The purpose of this is to improve their prospects of finding a permanent job, both by enabling them to learn some of the skills and attitudes which employers are seeking when they fill job vacancies, and also by giving the young people a chance to try various types of jobs, so as to help them choose a job on the basis of realistic expectations.

Thus, the purpose of work experience programs is to help young people to overcome unemployment by improving their own competitive position; they are designed to change people, rather than the labor market. Work-experience programs therefore differ from job subsidies, or job creation programs, which are designed to increase the supply of jobs.

The purpose of work-experience programs is not to change labor market conditions, but to improve the chances of a specific group of young people in the labor market: those who have never had an opportunity to acquire on-the-job experience, either because they have never had a job, since leaving school, or because they have lost a job after a short time, perhaps as a result of a policy of "last in - first out."

On the face of it, therefore, it might seem that the need for work-experience schemes is not strongly related to particular labor market conditions, but that work experience, like vocational education and training, is a form of investment in human capital, which young people need, in order to make the best use of their potential. In fact, however, government programs which provide work experience are needed only when the normal supply of jobs is insufficient for the number of young people seeking first-time job experience. The impetus for current schemes was, therefore, the exceptionally high rates of unemployment of young people which emerged in 1976. The first schemes were at first regarded, at least by many politicians, as temporary measures designed to overcome the problem of unemployment of young people that had arisen as a result of the world recession.

Now, however, it is recognized that the need for government programs offering work experience is not a short-lived phenomenon, but is likely to remain for some years. In the United Kingdom, for example, the Director of the Manpower Services Commission recently predicted that "special programmes to help the unemployed will still be required well into the 1980's,"[1] and forecasts recently produced by the Institute of Manpower Studies suggest that the number of unemployed teenagers will rise from 300,000 in 1976 to over half a million in 1986 and that there will still be about 425,000, or almost 23 percent, of the age group 16-19 unemployed by 1991.[2] Therefore, this same study by the Institute of Manpower Studies concludes that the new Youth Opportunities Scheme, which aims to provide young people with "an effective bridge to permanent employment" and which includes opportunities to acquire work experience as well as basic training, has "an air of permanence" about it. This makes it particularly important to attempt to assess the full range of government programs for young unemployed, and to consider that criteria are appropriate for judging the success of the programs.

The Objectives of Work Experience Programs

The schemes that exist in various countries at present differ in their coverage, and the target populations they are intended to reach. In some cases, work experience in a sheltered or simulated environment is provided for young people with particular handicaps, social as well as physical, which may prevent them from finding jobs. Such schemes are closely allied with the special programs for handicapped adults which have existed for many years in some countries, and which might properly be regarded as welfare provision, rather than a basic element of manpower policy. On the other hand, some schemes are open to any young person who is unemployed rather than being confined to those with particular disadvantages.

It is important to distinguish between the two types of program for assessment purposes. For example, the Work Experience Programme in the United Kingdom, which ran from September 1976 to early 1978, was designed for "all unemployed young people aged 16-18 who might benefit from the opportunity to learn about different kinds of jobs and gain systematic practical experience of a range of different trades."[3] On the other hand, a smaller scheme was set up in 1972 called Community Industry, which "deliberately selects the most disadvantaged and difficult to employ amongst unemployed young people."[4]

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[1] Department of Employment Gazette, February 1978.

[2] C. Leicester, "Keeping the Jobless in Touch with Work," The Times, May 15, 1978.

[3] Manpower Services Commission, Young People and Work, May 1977, p. 27.

[4] Ibid.

Clearly, different criteria should be used to evaluate these two schemes, since one deliberately seeks the most difficult individuals, whereas the other is more general in its scope. This difference is reflected in the "success rate" of the two schemes, judged in terms of the proportion of young people who subsequently obtain jobs, or further training. In 1977, the Manpower Services Commission estimated that of all those who had passed through the Community Industry scheme, "half are known to have entered employment or further education." This compares with a follow-up survey of participants of the Work Experience Programme which showed that 84 percent of them had worked at some time since leaving the program, and that 72 percent were in full-time employment at the time of the interview.[5] Nevertheless, in view of the different target groups of the two types of programs, the figure of 50 percent may well compare quite favorably with the 72 percent, or even 84 percent, success rate of the other scheme.

In general, the objectives of work experience programs are threefold: to provide a transition period between school and work, to enable young people to sample different types of work, so that they can find out what best suits their capabilities, and to provide training in basic skills and attitudes towards work. In some respects, therefore, work experience schemes can be regarded as an extension of formal education, but in a realistic work environment, with an emphasis on training in what are described as "basic social and life skills," rather than the skills of literacy, numeracy, etc. which are the concern of the formal education system. Training in these skills may include short work induction courses, covering topics, such as the importance of time-keeping, how to behave at an interview, safety procedures at work, and so on, rather than training in skills, such as shorthand and typing or operating machinery.

Some people might regard the training component of work-experience programs as largely remedial: filling gaps which remain after a young person leaves school. On the other hand, there are certain things which can best be learned in a real-life situation, and it may be that how to behave at an interview and how to get on with older work-mates come into this category. Certainly, the success or failure of work-experience programs may depend on how well the training element is integrated into the experience, as well as how systematic the procedure of job rotation is, and how realistically the work experience corresponds with actual permanent employment.

The belief underlying any work-experience program is that a young person will be more attractive to a future employer if he can demonstrate his familiarity with the demands of a regular job, rather than coming straight from school, often with minimal formal qualifications. Although they are not designed specifically for young people of low ability, work-experience programs often do in practice cater for those with a poor school record. For example, in the United Kingdom the first year's operation of the Work Experience Programme (WEP) showed participants "tend to have done rather worse at school than school leavers generally: 32 per cent of young people entering WEP schemes had left school without any educational qualifications; the comparable figures for all school leavers is about 18 percent."[6]

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[5] R. Lasko, "The Work Experience Programme," Department of Employment Gazette, March 1978.

The main purpose of work-experience programs is, therefore, to improve the competitive position of those young people who have already experienced difficulties in finding jobs, and enable them to compete more successfully with older workers. A more specific list of objectives is contained in the following description of the aims of the Work Experience Programme in Great Britain:

1. To provide an introduction to the requirements, discipline, and satisfactions of working life.

2. To enable young people to gain a better knowledge of their own capacities and interest and introduce them to possible jobs where these might be used.

3. To provide a transitional period between education and working life, and to help young people widen their skills and abilities to work with adults as well as their contemporaries.

4. To help young people gain in maturity, self-reliance, and self-esteem.

This list of objectives makes clear that the main aim of the scheme was to effect permanent changes in unemployed young people, and thus to increase their employability in the long run. Nevertheless, critics of the scheme saw it as a cosmetic exercise, designed to remove young people from the unemployment register. Ultimately, work-experience programs will be judged in terms of the success with which they achieve the longer-term objectives of improving individuals' job records, rather than the immediate, short-term objective of providing an alternative to unemployment.

How Government Schemes Provide Work Experience

The objective of providing young people with practical experience can be achieved in a variety of ways. Some work-experience programs provide young people with an opportunity to work in a normal environment for a limited period, while others provide practical experience in a simulated environment; for example, a specially run workshop. The important point is that the work experience should be as realistic as possible. The new Youth Opportunities program in the United Kingdom aims to provide four different types of work experience for unemployed young people:

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[6] R. Lasko, op. cit.

(1) Work experience on employers' own premises, where young people work alongside a firm's own employees, in a variety of jobs.

(2) Project-based work experience, where young people take part in a cooperative project run, for example, by a local authority or charitable organization, but financed under the Youth Opportunities Programme.

(3) Training workshops, where young people receive systematic training and supervised work experience in a specially run workshop.

(4) Community service, where young people take part in a locally run community project, working alongside regular staff in a social service department.

This list, which is by no means exhaustive, indicates the range of work-experience projects that already exist. It should be noted that there is scope for both private and public sector schemes, and participation by both small- and large-scale employers. There is similar variety, in different countries, in the length of work experience offered to young people, and in the conditions and level of payment provided. For example, in the United Kingdom work-experience programs are normally expected to last at least six months, and less than a year, whereas there are schemes in Norway and New Zealand where young people work in projects for only six weeks to two months, and in Germany certain schemes for the "hard-to-place" can last for two years.[7]

One distinguishing feature of most work-experience schemes is that the young people concerned are not employed directly by the employer providing the work experience, but are regarded as trainees, and therefore must receive a training allowance rather than a normal wage. The rate of pay varies between different schemes, but the objective is to find a rate of payment which is more attractive than unemployment compensation, but not so high as to discourage young people from seeking permanent employment. It is not easy to arrive at an appropriate figure, and there has been some disquiet in the United Kingdom, for example, that work-experience programs may either involve exploitation of young people, if employers regard participants as a source of cheap labor, or may discourage young people from accepting low-paid, but permanent, jobs.

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7. See OECD, Review of Experience with National Measures: Background Paper for High Level Conference on Youth Unemployment, 1977, YU(77)3.

Criteria for Evaluation Work Experience Programs

Since the purpose of work-experience programs is to change individuals, rather than change the labor market, one set of criteria for judging the success of the measures must always be the subsequent employment of participants. Does participation in a work-experience program improve young peoples' competitive position when they seek permanent jobs, and does the training they receive in "life and social skills" increase their productivity and their employability? A process which leads from the dole queue to a work-experience program and then back to the dole queue cannot be judged a success. The problem that inevitably arises when making this type of judgment is that whether or not an individual is successful in finding a job after completing a spell of work experience depends on labor market conditions, the supply of jobs, and the prevailing wage rates for unskilled young people, as well as on the characteristics of the young people themselves.

One of the problems of evaluating work-experience programs in the last two years is that local labor market conditions have sometimes deteriorated while young people have been taking part in a work-experience program, so that they may remain unemployed, even though the acquisition of work experience has made them more attractive to potential employers.

Another problem that arises in evaluating work-experience programs in terms of participants' subsequent employment records is the difficulty of comparing what actually happens to a participant after completing a period of work experience with what would have happened if he had not participated in the scheme. One of the objectives of the original Work Experience Programme in the United Kingdom was to "help young people gain in maturity, self-reliance and self-esteem." This kind of assessment can only be attempted if there is some kind of "control group" of young people who are unemployed, but who receive no work experience, no training, and no experiences likely to lead to a gain in maturity and self-reliance. But one of the main aims of the new Youth Opportunities Programme is to insure that all young people do have some sort of opportunity, if not of permanent employment or vocational education in training, then work experience of some sort. In other words, it is a matter of public policy that a "control group" should not exist.

Another criterion for evaluating government measures of this kind is that they should not divert resources that would otherwise have been used to create permanent employment. There have been fears that if work-experience programs, financed or subsidized out of public funds, come to be regarded as permanent, then employers will use these as a "filter mechanism" to aid them in their normal selection and recruitment. Already, some participants in a work-experience program go on to work for the same employer after completing their period of work experience. To some extent, this should be regarded as a success of the schemes since it suggests that they are successful in achieving one of the objectives, "to enable young people to gain a better knowledge of their own capacities and interests and introduce them to possible jobs where these might be used." On the other hand, if the proportion is very high, then it would mean that employers were simply using a publicly-funded program to enable them to fill normal job vacancies and to provide new entrants with subsidized induction courses, rather than meet the costs themselves.

While it is important to evaluate any government measure in terms of its long-term objectives, there are also short-term, operational criteria that are important in making assessments. In particular, does the program appear to be meeting a need in the sense that it is easy to find employers willing to mount and operate work-experience programs, and easy to find young people to fill vacancies? One assessment of the Work Experience Programme in the United Kingdom concluded, "It was probably inevitable that in the early parts of the Programme, when a relatively small number of places were spread thinly around the country, there would have been problems in matching unemployed young people with the W.E.P. places available in their locality. This problem has been largely overcome now that many more places have been made available, enabling the requirements of unemployed young people to be more closely matched."[8]

As this assessment suggests, it has always been one of the main aims of the Work Experience Programme in the United Kingdom to match as closely as possible the requirements of young people and the opportunities that are made available to them. However, it is also important that the distribution of work-experience places should correspond fairly closely with the distribution of actual job opportunities for young people. It would clearly be a waste of resources to give large numbers of young people practical experience in manufacturing firms if the majority of job vacancies for young people are in service industries. In fact, in the United Kingdom the distribution of WEP places, by industry, was fairly similar to the normal distribution of entry to the labor market by young people. In 1977, for example, approximately 60 percent of all work-experience places were in the service sector, 26 percent were in manufacturing, and 13 percent in other industries; the corresponding figures for young peoples' entry into employment were 54 percent to the service sector, 32 percent to manufacturing industries, and 14 percent to other industries.[9]

Closely related to this criterion is the requirement that the distribution of places should match the distribution of jobs among the public and private sectors and large and small employers. One feature of the Work Experience Programme in the United Kingdom was that the places were provided mainly by private sector companies, whereas the Job Creation Programme was far more heavily concentrated in the public sector. A significant change occurred during the course of 1977. At the start of the program, in September 1976, the majority of places were provided by large companies, but as the program developed, there was a marked increase in the number of schemes run by small employers.

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[8] R. Lasko, op. cit., p. 295.

[9] Ibid., p. 294.

This sort of change has been welcomed in the United Kingdom as a sign of increasing variety and flexibility of the opportunities offered to young people.

However, although flexibility is clearly one important criterion, there is a danger that if there are too many schemes, catering to different groups of young people, there may be duplication of effort and a lack of coordination. The Youth Opportunities Programme, currently being introduced in Great Britain, is based on the belief that the problem of unemployed young people is so severe, and likely to be so long lasting, that it requires a coherent but flexible scheme, organized on a continuing basis rather than the series of ad hoc, temporary schemes that developed in 1976 and 1977 and which meant, in the words of the Manpower Services Commission, that:

> To the individual young person, the scene has been confusing. Since the schemes have been introduced one after the other, there has been a natural tendency to take whatever opportunity presents itself, irrespective of the help it may give or where it may lead. Tentative bridges or links between schemes are beginning to develop, but they cannot develop properly so long as each scheme is run separately. Moreover, a "mixed opportunity" is hard to develop, however desirable, because each scheme has its own criteria and distinctive approach.[10]

It is in order to overcome this problem that the Youth Opportunities Programme is being developed for 16-18 year olds. In this program, work experience provides one component, together with assessment and employment induction courses, short industrial courses offering fairly specific occupational training, and remedial education. At the same time, different schemes will cater to unemployed adults, including the Special Temporary Employment Scheme, which replaces the Job Creation Programme.

This raises the question of the extent to which different schemes will compete for available resources. Since it is one of the declared aims of the Youth Opportunities Programme, like the Work Experience Programme which it replaced, to improve the competitive position of young people in the labor market, the question must be asked at whose expense this improvement will take place. Some critics have, in fact, argued that it is a mistake to focus schemes to alleviate unemployment on the young unemployed, arguing that it is the adult head of household with dependent children who suffers most from unemployment.[11] On the other hand, failure to find work when a young person first enters the labor market may have serious long-term implications, and work-experience programs are designed to insure that today's unemployed school leaver does not become tomorrow's long-term unemployed, simply because he has never had the opportunity to acquire practical experience. Nevertheless, the fact must be faced that by improving the chances of young school leavers find a first job, government measures may worsen the chances of older workers, married women, or other groups.

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[10] Manpower Services Commission, Young People and Work, op. cit., p. 29.

[11] See, for example, "Is Youth Unemployment Really the Problem?" New Society, November 10, 1977.

Data Needed for Assessment

The previous section on the criteria for judging work-experience programs suggests some of the data that will be needed for evaluating the success of new measures. In the first place, information is needed on the number of places available in work-experience schemes, on the industrial, occupational, and regional distribution of places (to see whether this corresponds to the distribution of job vacancies), on the duration of the experience, and on the distribution of unemployment. Information is also needed on the speed with which vacancies are filled, the length of time young people remain on a work-experience program, the number and range of different jobs to which they are introduced, and the type of training they receive. All this type of information can be collected as part of the regular operation of a scheme.

For example, the Work Experience Programme in the United Kingdom generated information of this kind, which was used to construct simple tests of success, such as the "occupancy rate" of WEP schemes. This was the ratio of young people actually taking part in the scheme at a point in time to the number of places available one month earlier. This provides a measure of the speed with which vacancies were taken up, and the extent to which young people remained in the scheme for its full duration. By the end of 1977, the occupancy rate was 84 percent, compared with a rate of only 50 percent when the scheme first started, and only 65 percent in June 1977.[12] Clearly, this represents an improvement in the efficiency of the schemes, but it does highlight one problem in evaluating the success of such schemes. If large numbers of young people leave a work-experience scheme early, before completing the full range of jobs available to them, this would show up as a reduction in the occupancy rate. But follow-up studies of WEP trainees showed that 50 percent left early, usually because they had jobs to go to. Is this to be regarded as a sign of success or of failure?

This is a question that cannot be answered on the basis of routine information on the number of places and the number of young people taking part in WEP schemes. Information on the future employment prospects of trainees can only be collected by means of follow-up surveys, probably on a sample basis. This can be used to compare the employment prospects of young people before and after participation in a scheme. A follow-up survey of the Work Experience Programme in Great Britain showed that 84 percent of the sample of participants had worked at some time since leaving WEP, compared with only 35 percent who had worked before taking part in scheme. This suggests that the program was successful in improving their chances of finding a job, and indeed 60 percent went immediately from a WEP scheme into a job--a large number of jobs being with the employer running the WEP scheme. But once again, this raises the question of how far this is to be judged a success. From the point of view of the participants, it clearly is a success. The transition period provided by WEP was used to enable them to find a suitable job. It can also be judged a success in the light of one of the objectives of WEP: "Increasing attention is now being given to encouraging employers to provide opportunities for those young people they might not normally consider recruiting, for example because they lack formal educational qualifications."[13] But since 62 percent of those who went straight into a job after completing WEP continued to work for the employer who had provided the WEP opportunity, this suggests that many employers did use WEP as a convenient selection device. Whether or not this is regarded as a desirable use of a publicly-financed program is a difficult question. The Manpower Services Commission commented on this issue: "There is also the possibility that this kind of work experience would come to be regarded by employers as a useful vehicle for assessment and a normal avenue of recruitment. Were this to happen, it might be necessary to review the basis of funding such opportunities."[14]

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[12] R. Lasko, op. cit., p. 295.

The whole question of what would have happened in the absence of work-experience programs is fraught with difficulties. It is doubtful whether any country has yet solved the problem of comparing the fortunes of those who take part in special employment programs with a control group who do not. For the very fact that a young person is, or is not, willing to take part in a program may be an important fact which distinguishes him from his contemporaries, at least in the eyes of a potential employer. And, as we have already seen, it is a matter of public policy in some countries now to insure that a control group does not exist, since a control group would consist of young people without any opportunities for work or training.

Although it may not be feasible to compare the future employment of participants with a control group who did not participate in the scheme, it is necessary to compare the performance of those who participate with that of other young people who enter the labor market by a different route. Even this may create difficulties. For example, recent changes in the United Kingdom in the methods of collecting employees' national insurance contributions mean that workers no longer have national insurance cards--which must be stamped each week--and national insurance contributions are now collected through the same machinery as income tax. However, this means that it is no longer possible to collect information, such as the first employment

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13. Manpower Services Commission, Young People and Work, op. cit., p. 27.

14. Young People and Work, op. cit., p. 36.

of young people, by analyzing national insurance cards. New methods have had to be devised, including more extensive use of sample surveys, to collect data which used to be available automatically. This is just one example of an administrative change which creates difficulties for monitoring the effects of employment programs. Similar examples could probably be found in other countries.

Another common problem is that information about the unemployed, including data on the duration of unemployment, is often not classified in sufficient detail to enable young people aged 16-18, which is the group for which most work-experience programs are intended, to be separately identified. Similarly, if unemployment statistics are analyzed according to the jobs previously held by unemployed workers, then young people without experience will simply appear as "other" or "not classified," and may be mixed up with other groups of workers, or even excluded altogether. All this means that comparative data which could be used in the evaluation of work-experience programs may be difficult to collect without special surveys. In the United Kingdom, for example, the Manpower Services Commission's Working Party on Young People and Work commissioned a series of research studies of the characteristics of unemployed young people, their attitudes toward unemployment, work, training, and the variety of government measures designed to help them, and also the attitudes of employers and their policies on recruitment of young people. This resulted in useful information on young people and the labor market, but it required four separate sample surveys to collect this information, and there is no regular procedure which will update this information in the future.

How Successful Are Work-Experience Programs?

The preceding sections have outlined some of the difficulties that arise if a full-scale evaluation of work-experience programs is attempted. Nevertheless, some assessments have already been made of existing programs. What tentative conclusions can be drawn?

In the first place, experience in several countries suggests that work-experience programs can be introduced, relatively quickly, and at relatively low cost, since no special facilities are required.[15] The Review of Experience with National Measures, which was produced for the OECD, Conference on Youth Unemployment in 1977, observed that "early experience with such schemes of practical introduction has shown that they meet a need which can be satisfied in a relatively simple way when young people's employment problems stem primarily from ignorance about working life."[16]

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[15] The Manpower Services Commission estimated in 1977 that the cost of the Work Experience Programme, with a target of 30,000 places, was £19 million. This compares with the Job Creation Programme, which created 68,000 jobs for young people, but at a cost of £95 million. See Young People and Work, op. cit., p. 36.

Probably the most thorough evaluation of a work-experience program has taken place in the United Kingdom as part of the review of the whole range of measures for young people, which led to the setting up of the Youth Opportunities Programme. When the Work Experience Programme was reviewed in the middle of 1977, after eight months of operation, the Manpower Services Commission concluded: "The early months of the programme have been encouraging. It is clear the Work Experience Programme has been able to harness the enthusiasm of many employers, especially those in the private sector, wishing to help unemployed young people. It, therefore, acts as a means of encouraging young people to enter 'wealth-creating' sectors of the economy."[17] A more recent review of the program in March 1978 showed that over 40,000 young people had benefited from the scheme in about a year and a half and concluded that WEP "has made a major contribution to the Commission's task of alleviating youth unemployment."[18]

Valuable insights were also provided by two surveys carried out for the Manpower Services Commission, one among employers and the other among unemployed young people. These surveys asked about attitudes to all the government measures designed to help the young unemployed, including:

(1) subsidies to recruit workers, such as the Recruitment Subsidy for School Leavers

(2) grants to encourage employers to provide more training

(3) temporary job creation, such as the Job Creation Programme

(4) work-experience programs

(5) direct training provision

(6) rehabilitation schemes to meet the special needs of some young people.

The result of asking employers about these various schemes was:

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[16] Background Papers for High Level Conference on Youth Unemployment, YU(77)3.

[17] Manpower Services Commission, Young People and Work, op. cit., p. 27.

[18] R. Lasko, op. cit.

> Of those programmes specifically for unemployed young people, WEP was the most favourably regarded. A number of organisations already operated what they described as 'mini-WEPs', in which pupils from local schools spent short periods working in the organisations and learning about working life. It was this aspect, bridging the information gap between young people and work, that employers thought particularly useful.[19]

The second survey, which asked young people what they thought were the most important features of different types of schemes showed that:

> There is a consensus among the unemployed that the opportunity to learn the basic skills for a job they have already decided on is most important. Those who had never worked before rated as second in importance the opportunity to learn how to make a good impression on an employer, while those who had worked before rated second the opportunity to work with a supervisor who tries to understand them. This difference probably reflects the desire of those who have never worked to 'get a foot on the ladder' while those who had been in employment would know from experience the importance of sympathetic supervision.[20]

These results show that both from the point of view of employers and young people, work-experience programs can fulfill a real need. The results were summed up as follows:

> Employers did not have a high regard for the existing Government measures to aid young people, claiming that they were too numerous, badly publicised and changing too frequently. They thought the most useful scheme was the Work Experience Programme, with its emphasis on increasing young people's knowledge of work.[21]

A number of practical lessons can also be drawn from the British experience. In the first place, it is essential that the opportunities for work experience should be as varied as possible, and that the rotation of participants between different types of work experience should be planned and systematic, in order that young people should benefit and

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19. Manpower Services Commission, Young People and Work, Manpower Studies, No. 19781. London: HMSO, 1978, p. 25.

20. Manpower Services Commission, Young People and Work, Manpower Studies, No. 19781. London: HMSO, 1978, p. 30.

21. M. Colledge, "Young People and Work: Research Into the Attitudes and Experiences of Young People and Employers," Department of Employment Gazette, December 1977, p. 1346.

learn from their experiences. This does impose a burden on the employer organizing a scheme, and some of the most successful schemes have been in firms which have appointed someone whose special responsibility is the planning and supervision of the training and job rotation of the program participants.

This also raises the question of the quality of training provided as an integral part of the program. It was never intended that this should be high-level training which prepares young people for a specific job. But training in "life and social skills," to use the term employed in the British Work Experience Programme, can be interpreted in many different ways, and some schemes have been very much more successful than others in providing genuine training which will increase a person's employability in the future. The new Youth Opportunities Programme in Great Britain is being planned so that the various forms of work experience "should wherever possible include a fully integrated element of further education."

Just as it has been recognized that the education and training element of many work-experience programs need to be upgraded, so there has been concern about the quality of selection and counseling in some schemes. Administrators of the program have been concerned to avoid any suggestion of "creaming" applicants, which would mean that young people most in need of help might find it most difficult to be accepted, but in the early days of the Work Experience Programme some employers were critical of poor selection of trainees and poor career counseling for participants of schemes.

Another practical difficulty has been the choice of level of payment for participants. The closer the work involved in work-experience programs resembles the normal productive work of an enterprise, the greater will be the pressure to pay participants the "rate for the job." But this may mean considerable variations in levels of pay in different schemes. The new Youth Opportunities Programme provides a single flat-rate allowance for all young people taking part in the scheme, regardless of whether they are receiving training, work experience in employer's premises, or project-based experience, on the grounds that it will "facilitate the movement of young people between different parts of the programme." However, this can create problems if young people then wish to enter full-time further education, where the rates of financial assistance are quite different. This problem has yet to be resolved.

Conclusion

The rationale for providing work experience for unemployed young people by means of special government schemes is that governments now recognize that work experience is just as necessary as other types of investment in human capital, if individuals are to achieve their full potential. Investment in education and training is already heavily subsidized from public funds, but for some young people this is not sufficient, and the provision of work experience is also necessary if they are to become productive members of the labor force.

The problem is that most work-experience programs have both social and economic objectives, and therefore it is difficult to evaluate many programs since different, and even conflicting, criteria may be appropriate because of their different objectives. The experience of several countries in the last two years has shown that work-experience programs can make a significant contribution to the problem of the transition from school to work, and current economic and demographic trends suggest that they may have to be a feature of government manpower policy for many years to come. Yet they have to be designed and evaluated with care if they are to be regarded as genuine investments in human capital rather than a cosmetic exercise, designed to remove young people from the unemployment register.

AN APPRAISAL OF POLICIES ON APPRENTICESHIPS IN THE OECD COUNTRIES

A. Vinokur

I. Definitions

Apprenticeships are generally defined as a system whereby young people gain entry to an occupation as the result of a relatively prolonged process which combines salaried work and training. However, this definition must be qualified.

First, the unique quality of the apprentice system has been the fact that it was the only system integrating training and production, as opposed to various other systems in which school and work are separated. This is no longer the case. On the one hand, apprentices are more and more often being trained in schools and other training centers rather than on the job. On the other hand, many new schemes integrating training and work have recently appeared in an attempt to solve problems either of the labor force or of the scholastic system. These schemes include: continuous training on the job, continuing education, work-study contracts, practical traineeships in firms, and other specific programs leading to the entry of young people into the labor force. From this point of view, apprenticeships are merely one of many schemes of organizing that intermediate stage when a young person is no longer only a student but not yet a full-fledged worker.

Second, though apprenticeships still often last more than four years, time can no longer be used as a defining criterion. Apprenticeship contracts are increasingly being shortened, sometimes to less than two years.

The remaining qualification to the traditional definition is a legal one. The apprentice system implies a particular type of work contract, regulated either by a craft organization or by the government, leading to the acquisition of a recognized qualification by the apprentice. This qualification may be recognized either by the craft organization as allowing the apprentice to set himself up as an independent craftsman, or by the labor unions as giving the apprentice status as a qualified worker.

However, despite general agreement on the definition of apprentices, national statistics vary widely. Some include as apprentices young people who are following courses of training which do not involve employment and exclude young people who, though employed under the same conditions as apprentices, do not have a written contract. The latter is the case, in particular, when the inconvenience of registering such a contract outweighs its advantages for the employer or the apprentice. These distortions make it difficult to compare national data, which appear to show a wide disparity in the proportion of young people of various ages engaged in apprenticeships.

In summary, there is no single definition of apprenticeship which would apply accurately in all the industrialized countries. Since the apprentice system is an ancient institution, it is likely that the problem of definition can only be solved by an historical analysis of the system within each country and each region.

II. Problems of Historical Analysis

As a starting point, we shall distinguish three phases in the development of apprenticeships, with the last phase being the only one which can explain the national and regional differences we now observe.

Originally, apprenticeships occurred within a particular sector of production. In this sector, the producers owned their own shop where they were helped mainly by family members. Producers of similar good or services joined in "guilds" whose function were to regulate competition among its members. This involved regulations on the volume, quality and techniques of production, sale price and salaries, and entrance into the craft. In the "guilds," apprenticeships fulfilled two contradictory needs: providing masters with low-cost labor and limiting access to the sector. In this first phase, the development of apprenticeships was governed by (1) the need for manpower and (2) the relationships between the masters, the workers, the apprentices, and the political authorities, which started intervening in the thirteenth century in Europe. Thus, when the need for manpower was small, control over entry into the profession was accomplished by controlling the number of people allowed to become apprentices (e.g., one per master over and above his own children, payment of an "apprenticeship prize" at entry, etc.). Yet, examination of the learning process was informal and the apprentice could become a master as soon as he had acquired sufficient knowledge. This was the case when crafts were at their beginnings, and the access to one's own business was quite open. Later, when the demand for goods--and therefore the need for manpower--increased, the supervision exercised by the guilds also increased, the pyramidal structure of the crafts was widened at the base, and control over entry into the profession was instead accomplished by controlling the exit from--rather than entry into--the apprenticeship. Thus, the number of apprentices per master was allowed to increase, apprenticeships were prolonged sometimes to more than 12 years, and the cost and the difficulty of the qualifying examination was increased.

The social origin of the apprentice then became the basis for a differenciation among the apprentices. Sons of master craftsmen were often allowed to dispense with the formalities of apprenticeships, and were among the few who had the necessary financial resources to become master craftsmen. For the others, apprenticeships more and more often led to a lifetime of salaried work. The workmen in turn started to organize themselves against the apprentices whose free work competed with theirs. The organization of the work became more segmented, and as the masters, seeking to keep the business in the family, had less interest in providing real and complete training, the situation of the apprentices worsened.

The government's role, over and above its fiscal aspect, seesawed between supporting, legally and penally, the rules of the guilds, and attempting, generally without success, to limit their monopoly by forbidding them to place limitations on the number of apprentices and the access to the status of master craftsmen, and by enacting laws protecting the apprentices.

In the early stages of its accumulation, capital needs an abundant labor supply--cheap and unskilled. This spurred capital to, initially, attempt to circumvent the rules of the guilds regarding control over the number of workers and their wages (with the domestic system, for example) and, ultimately, to have them abolished. Apprenticeships disappeared in many countries with the abolition of the guilds.

Furthermore, the organization of industrial production was such as to allow the full-time employment of the elderly, women, and, mostly, children. Thus, children were now able to earn a salary in industry rather than work for free as apprentices. Also, the craftsmen hesitated to train new competitors since they were no longer able to keep their own numbers down.

The supply and demand for apprenticeships diminished and survived only in those crafts which were able to keep a certain level of organization. In the other sectors, apprentices were nothing more than young people who worked as unskilled labor in exchange for a small salary. Often the contract, in those cases where it still existed, made no provision for professional training. Engineers and technicians in the new industries were at first salaried craftsmen, and, later, were trained by technical schools.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the third stage in the historical development of apprenticeships brought with it a differentiation among nations and regions. Demand for workers was changed by new forms of capital development. There was an increasing need for workers with new qualifications of a semi-skilled nature, and there was a growing concentration of capital, leading to a hierarchy within each production unit.

However, not all production units, in spite of their concentration, necessarily had a pyramidal structure. That depended on the technological status of the industry. In many industries, there was still a bipolarization. Even within the same industry, the organizational structure and the recruiting practices depended on the level of concentration of capital and on the force and strategy of the unions. Finally, the destruction of traditional crafts and the appearance of new crafts (industrial and commercial crafts) varied in each economy.

The supply of workers to meet the new needs for skilled labor was derived from four principal sources:

1. Traditional apprenticeships, where they still existed. These could supply not only master craftsmen, but also workers immediately useful to industry as they finished their apprenticeships.
2. On-the-job training, organized informally in individual production units or in low-concentration industries. This could also supply industries with high capital concentration.
3. On-the-job training in a formal sense (such as training centers within production units or among such units, or in governmental training centers). This training implied, often under the aegis of the unions, systematic promotions in high-capital firms.
4. Schools, public or private.

We can thus explain the very considerable differences among countries in the reported incidence of apprenticeships by the following factors:

1. Problems of definition. To what extent are the types of training, above, considered apprenticeships? This is itself tied to the degree of formal institutionalization of these on-the-job traineeships, in which the government plays a determining role.
2. The importance of skilled crafts in the economy as a whole, and its degree of organization.
3. The strategies of the different types of firms in the market place regarding whether scholastic training is acceptable, whether internal promotion or external recruitment is used, whether the differing diplomas issued to trainees is acceptable to a lesser or greater extent, and regarding the mobility of skilled workers among firms, etc.

4. The degree of control of the unions over recruitment and training of labor.

5. Government policies.

III. The Objectives of Policies on Apprenticeships

Apprenticeships are both a form of immediate employment and a method of long-range training. Thus, policies of education and labor supply have both had an impact on apprenticeships. In the period between the two World Wars, educational policies predominated in most western European countries. Thus, the essential problem is the choice between school and on the job training. Officially, the problem is educational (which is the most suited to the training of skilled workers), but it is also financial: Should vocational training be financed by the government or by the firms who use the manpower, and in the latter case, who the state or the firms should decide on the allocation of fund?

In the background, however, there are also social and political aims. In certain countries, apprenticeships are associated with the political image of "corporatism," which is seen as social and economic organization with the capacity to reduce social strife. Socially, apprenticeships seem to be less desirable than other modes of technical training.

Since the end of the 1950's, policies on labor supply influenced apprenticeships. In most industrialized countries, active labor policies attempted to adjust, in the short run, the supply of labor to the demand. This period can be roughly divided into two:

(a) Up to the end of the 1960's, one sees rapid capital formation which led to the double shortage of highly skilled workers and of unskilled workers in the developed capitalist economies. However, to remedy these shortages would imply contradictory policies, at least the short run, except for those policies specifically aimed at increasing the supply of unskilled labor (immigration, female labor, reduction of time of military service). Policies for apprentices are particularly hurt by this contradiction since apprentices are unskilled workers at the present time, and only potentially highly skilled. Given the length of apprenticeship relative to full-time training (technical school, adult education, etc.), policies for apprenticeships have mainly aimed at stimulating the supply of apprentices by lowering the age of entry, and by raising the salary of apprentices. This was done to counteract the attraction of future higher pay which should motivate the young people to continue their studies at school.

In many cases, the result of these policies was to decrease the demand for apprentices by those crafts with high levels of skill and thus high cost of training, and increase demand by small and medium-size firms with low skill levels for whom apprentices were cheaper than young workers and could immediately be put to work at unskilled labor. Schools and centers of apprenticeships outside the work place also contributed to these results.

(b) At the present time, the rhythm and forms of capital formation determine a demand for labor which, quantitatively and qualitatively, cannot absorb either those workers made unemployable by the new substitution of capital for labor or the new classes of labor born since the end of the 1950's. The result is a structure which, on the one hand, puts the brunt of the unemployment on those just entering the labor force and, on the other, develops "secondary" market places for labor, such as temporary work and auxiliary work.

For young people, this means a lengthening of the intermediate period between full-time schooling and full-time employment. During this intermediate period, there are times of unemployment, of full-time work on a temporary basis, of training, and of part-time work. In part, governmental policies on the labor force structure this period.

Governmental labor policies at the present time do not use the traditional measures against unemployment. The effect of stimulation of demand on inflation is feared. Investment would not create sufficient new jobs and governmental job creation also tends to be inflationary. Thus, the aim of governmental policies is, on the one hand, to reduce the labor supply by sending immigrants home, encouraging women to stay home, raising the school-leaving age, etc. On the other hand, policies encouraging businesses to hire include forceful measures, such as the requirement to hire a certain proportion of new workers, but, more often, measures to reduce the cost of labor. Cost-push inflation is the underlying hypothesis. Finally, a certain number of measures aim at creating "channels of insertion" into the market place which both inform and transform the supply and demand of young people's labor to create a better adjustment.

The methods used in carrying out these policies are based on two postulates:

1. The unemployment crisis will be of short duration, either because it is cyclical or because the drop in birth rates in western countries will lower the supply of workers. Therefore, the policies used are differentiated, flexible, and of short duration. Also, it is important to avoid any supplementary fixed costs because of budget problems, and efforts to brake the growth of social expenses, such as education.

2. Even though unemployment affects young people of all skill levels, training must be continued for various alernative reasons. It must continue either because it is believed there is a shortage of skilled labor, or because it is prudent to have a reserve supply of skilled labor in

case the economy picks up, or because it is politically expedient to use training and the hope of professional advancement as a justification for a caretaking operation.

From all these points of view, apprenticeship may seem ideally suited since it implies immediate employment of young people for a moderate length of time, a cheap form of labor for firms, practical training on the job which can be accompanied by theoretical training in already existing and thus less costly schools, and a great flexibility which can adapt to needs.

Thus, in countries like Germany and Austria, where apprenticeship is the channel used by those young people who have left school to enter the workforce, policies aimed at reducing unemployment among the young are policies on apprenticeship. In other countries, where apprenticeship concerns only a small fraction of this age group and of firms, public policy on apprenticeship is a very small part of the measures taken to help the young enter the workforce. In these countries, the immediate success of policies on apprenticeship in increasing number of apprentices depends on the alternatives available to young people and employers. The alternatives for young people include full-time studies beyond the legal school-leaving age, direct entry into the workforce in a subsidized or non-subsidized job, unemployment (either compensated or not), and, finally, new channels of workforce entry, such as programs of initiation to work, temporary protected jobs, practical contracts of work-study, etc. For employers, the alternatives include no hiring with the possible introduction of labor-saving techniques, organization of the work and some temporary help, full-time hiring of young people with or without subsidy, and, finally, hiring young people without a labor contract, within the context of temporary public works and with or without training intra or extramurally.

However, policies on apprenticeships should also be judged by their effect on the young people. The retention rate in the apprenticeship, success in the apprenticeship by the passage of an examination or by the possession of a certificate attesting to a successful completion of the apprenticeship, the nature and the level of the job obtained after the end of apprenticeship, and, eventually, the future promotion are all factors which must be borne in mind.

These general criteria, however, are not sufficient. More specific measures must be added when apprenticeship policies are used for the benefit of particular sectors of the population, such as the physically or mentally handicapped, disadvantaged youth, or social misfits. Other measures may be needed for specific sectors of the economy, such as the traditional crafts or the development of self-employment.

IV. Provisions of Policies on Apprenticeship

The compulsory hiring of apprentices is rare. Thus, the aim of policies on apprenticeship is to attempt to modify the determining variables of the supply and demand for this form of work-training. Three types of measures can be distinguished:

1. Statutory measures deal with

    (a) Conditions of access to apprenticeship. These include regulations on age, physical and mental condition, and scholastic achievement of the apprentice. The employer must comply with regulations on the number of apprentices authorized, or the ratio of apprentice/skilled worker, requirements on his morality and competence, the size and type of firms authorized to recruit apprentices, the equipment required, and the regulation of the labor contract.

    (b) Working conditions and training methods for apprentices. These include regulations on the apprentice's salary, on the length of time involved in work and training, on the kind of work required of the apprentice, and on the nature and place of the training offered. Also included are regulations on the cancellation of a contract and conditions under which the apprentice is delivered a diploma by examination or certificate of apprenticeship, etc.

    (c) The conditions of employment of worker who have completed their apprenticeship. These include a guarantee of the working conditions and salary of skilled workers, and regulates access to the status of self-employed worker.

2. Institutional measures are concerned with the creation of schools or quasi-scholastic institutions tied to apprenticeship with institutions of pre-apprenticeship and with training centers for apprentices.

3. Financial incentives on the demand or supply side of apprenticeship include direct subsidies to apprentices or to their families, or governmental paying of fringe benefits, and direct subsidies to employers hiring apprentices. Total or partial payment of expenses related to training are also included under this heading.

These measures are financed in industrialized countries in one of two ways. Either appropriation is made from the general budget (the Ministry of Education providing funds for the apprentices' training centers and some Labor Ministry funding the other measures) or taxes of apprenticeship are levied on the payroll of the firms, and are forgiven for those firms which train apprentices.

Evaluation of the different methods must depend on:

- resource elasticity: how much does the method of financing increase the total amount of resources for apprenticeship--are there substitution effects?
- equity both for the social groups, and for the taxed firms involved
- external efficiency
- internal efficiency.

To the extent that the results of these different types of measures depend in part on the supply and demand of apprentices, a study of these variables is necessary.

V. Determinants of the Supply and Demand for Apprentices

The traditional neoclassical analysis would suppose a microeconomic model in which homogenity of factors and of socioeconomic environment is assumed. The questions we ask are to what extent does this model help us assess the individual effects of changes in variables, and how can we integrate in the analysis differences in environment and structures which can explain specifically different responses?

Let us assume, first, that the labor market is one of perfect competition where each worker is always paid his marginal productivity. An increase in productivity--and therefore of the wage rate--can only be attained if the worker increases his productivity, which implies a cost (direct or opportunity cost). Under these conditions, only the worker himself is invited to finance his training, since he is the only one to receive the benefits.

If all the other markets (especially the lonable funds market for investing in training and the market for teaching services) are competitive, the worker will decide on the basis of the return he will receive whether to work full-time without training, undertake training full-time, enter into apprenticeship, or adopt another method of entering the labor force. The determining variables of his decision will be the cost (direct and opportunity cost) of the training per period, the duration of the training, the additional future remuneration resulting from the training, the length of the period over which these benefits will continue, and the probability of his survival and of the success of the training.

Therefore, to increase the supply of apprentices, there are several things that can be done: shorten the length of apprenticeship, lower the age of entry, increase the remuneration during the apprenticeship, promote success in passing the tests at the end of the apprenticeship, or guarantee a higher remuneration to workers who have finished their apprenticeship. These measures, however, will alter the competitive conditions of the market and therefore the optimum allocation of resources and raise the cost of apprenticeship to the employer.

Now, the employers will not wish to finance part of the training of apprentices unless they can recover their cost at the end of the apprenticeship from the increased productivity of the worker. If workers at the end of apprenticeship are paid higher wages because of their increased productivity, then employers hiring apprentices are simply educators and should be paid the cost of training either by governmental subsidies or by being allowed to freely use the work of apprentices. In these conditions, to keep employers from lowering their demand for apprentices, all reductions in the period of apprenticeship and increases in salary for apprentices must be compensated by the government either by subsidies or by exemption from social or fiscal changes.

It is only if the labor market is not in a state of perfect competition that the employer would have some interest in financing the training of his workers since he would have some degree of monopsony on them. Some factors that would influence the employer are the mobility of the apprentice after he has been trained, which depends in part on how much the new qualifications he has are worth on the job market outside the enterprise. It will also depend on the degree of monopsony which determines by how much greater is the workers' marginal productivity than his pay. It is also possible that the apprentice, once trained, would become a potential competitor of his employer. In that case, the employer will also fear a reduction in his own income.

However, the economic problem is posed in an environment whose economic and social structures are not at all similar to the neoclassical model. Empirical studies have shown that businesses have unequal access to the labor market, and that their hiring strategies and training policies depend on the technological characteristics of the industry and also the degree of capital concentration of the firm partly determines how much it can affect its internal labor market.

Now the hiring strategies of firms are at the basis of their reaction to policies affecting the labor market. We shall, therefore, study these strategies at greater length. We can distinguish between three types of firms.

First, there are businesses with strong control over their internal labor market. These are generally large enterprises that are characterized by higher than the average salaries, formalized salary schedules, career planning for workers, internal training programs, strong union influence, and the ability to attract qualified workers, whether they are just out of school or from other businesses. When a business of this type hires apprentices, its policies will be governed by the unions' power and strategies and the businesses' own policies with regard to training employees. The possibilities for an apprentice here are excellent.

The firms with weak control over their internal labor market are of variable size and are characterized mainly by their activity. Technology determines their structure which is not pyramidal but bipolar with mostly unskilled workers. Salaries are lower, turnover rate is higher, and horizontal and vertical mobility small. In this type of firm, there is always a requirement for more workers from the external labor market and the direct cost of labor is of paramount importance. These firms hire cheap labor (women, young people, immigrants) and only offer on-the-job training specific to the particular job. Apprentices will be hired only if rules permit it, if their cost is less than that of other labor, and if their training takes place outside the firm and is paid for by the government. In this type of firm, promotions to skilled jobs are limited and therefore apprentices, once their training is completed, will go elsewhere.

Small and medium-sized firms can be further categorized. Firms which are independently capitalized have variable policies with regard to apprentices, according to their primary activity. They do have certain characteristics in common, however. They do have the possibility of giving effective on-the-job training as their structure is not very specialized. Their salaries for skilled workers tend to be lower than elsewhere, which would explain the relatively higher rate of departures of apprentices, and the rather smaller number of skilled positions offered. The latter in turn explains why those apprentices who stay are those who have not succeeded in obtaining some document certifying their ability.

In craft enterprises, apprenticeship is traditional and usually results in the apprentice becoming self-employed at the end of his apprenticeship. These businesses are severely affected by government policies on apprenticeship. Since many of them are not organized, the artisans themselves cannot control entry into the profession, which tends to decrease the supply. Furthermore, the training period in the crafts is very long and costly and not much can be done outside the firm. Therefore, policies aimed at assuring the apprentice a higher salary and shortening the length of apprenticeship (which protects him in capitalized firms) tend to decrease considerably the demand for apprentices in the small craft firms.

In summary, one cannot assume that the impact of policies on apprenticeship will be homogeneous. The size of the firm and the technological constraints of the particular industry will affect hiring policies. Other factors include differences in working conditions and in the training content of various jobs which strongly influence both the rate at which apprenticeships are dropped and the chances of success in examinations held at the end of the apprenticeship.

The fact that in most countries apprentices are employed in low-salaried industries can now find a ready explanation which the previous analysis could not offer.

The Sociology of Apprenticeship

The supply of apprentices is affected by material changes, both immediate and in the future. The relative decline of the number of apprentices can be seen as the result of both the decline of employment and salary prospects of skilled workers and the development of new ways for young people to enter the labor force. These ways have the advantage of being better paid and of shorter length of training than apprenticeship. The same result is achieved when unemployment among young people is compensated at a relatively high level.

Nevertheless, it is obvious in many countries that when young people, after they have finished their required schooling, have the choice among (a) being hired immediately as an unskilled worker, (b) doing an apprenticeship, (c) undertaking full-time vocational education (resulting in the same level of qualification as apprenticeship), or (d) continuing a classical education (in college), they make their choice based on factors that the neoclassical economic system cannot fully explain. For example:

(a) In sociological terms, academic institutions have a tendency to rank the student possibilities based on their social origin, and they place apprenticeship low on the list.

(b) Furthermore, the typical conditions of traditional apprenticeship (family atmosphere in the workshop, the strictly disciplined training of the apprentice, and the geographically dispersed location of groups of craftsmen) make it a good choice for young people who have problems dealing with society. To this phenomenon, it is important to add that in many cases, the preferences of the youth's parents may play a large role. They may prefer to place the child in a location close to the family and in a protected environment where they are familiar with the values of the boss and in activities with which they are comfortable.

(c) Not all young people have access to the financial resources that would allow them to continue their studies. When apprenticeship can start at an earlier age than any other form of entry into the workforce, and is the only one which is salaried, then it may be a possible solution to a family's financial problems.

(d) In determining the structure of the supply of apprentices, one must keep in mind the ideological aspects of apprenticeship. It is linked to the social image of the independent worker in certain milieux, and to the values and moral qualities ascribed to certain occupations. Comparative studies of a very detailed nature would possibly explain in this fashion why apprenticeships in different crafts have such different working conditions without such conditions affecting the supply of apprentices. (In fact, the opposite may occur. With some professional and income outcomes, the harder apprenticeship may be preferred.)

Even governmental policies have this ideological content. Apprenticeships are presented as a method to solve future unemployment problems by developing self-employment.

Remarks and Questions

1. A problem that is little dealt with and yet important for the formulation of long-term policies of apprenticeship is that of "qualification" and the ways of acquiring it.

Because of technological transformations and of the division of labor, on the one hand, and methods of salary classifications of workers, on the other, the concept of qualification has become blurred and variable. As a result of this, several questions arise. Is apprenticeship still a method of vocational training that can compete with other methods or not? If not, for what types of industries and occupations can it still be considered adequate? Should apprenticeship be considered a vestigial institution for underprivileged youths and declining businesses?

Evidently, from these points of view, a distinction should be made between apprenticeship as on-the-job training and apprenticeship as a labor institution, accompanied by part-time schooling. In that case, is the training offered merely an alibi?

2. No intervention of the state can avoid the fundamental contradiction between short-term unskilled employment and long- or medium-term skilled employment. Conflicts between vested interests (such as employers and unions) are inevitable if these interventions run counter to the professional regulations. Above all, short-term policies on apprenticeship designed to temporarily resolve problems of youth unemployment risk creating worse problems in the long run. These long-run risks include (1) a narrowing of the age pyramid in traditional occupations, (2) development of a type of unskilled labor with low pay and without a future, in businesses with a weak internal market for whom apprenticeship subsidies are like life-giving oxygen from the government's emergency room, and (3) an exacerbation of the segmentation of the labor market with reinforced discrimination among young people.

VI. Data Needs to Evaluate Policies

(1) Institutional framework:

- history of apprenticeship
- private institutional structures of apprenticeship, e.g., regulation of professional organizations, limitation of the ratio of apprentices to qualified workers by the unions
- legislation:
  - age limits for entry into apprenticeship
  - length of apprenticeship and working conditions
  - salary of the apprentice and provisions of formal contracts
- training outside of work:
  - the kind of establishments, their location, the content, and organization of what is being taught
  - are the apprentices trained in the same business that their academic professional training is in?
  - do they take tests and receive a diploma?
- how is the time spent in training outside of work distributed?
- methods of financing:
  - of training outside of a business (general budget, special levies)
  - of apprenticeship in a business: apprenticeship taxes, direct subsidies, methods and length of exemption from social charges (fringe benefits).

(2) The demand for apprentices:

- classification of apprenticeships by industry and size of businesses that hire apprentices; percentage distribution
- level of payment, subsidies, and exemptions associated with other methods of employing young people
- ratio of apprentices to qualified employees by industry and size of business

- in businesses that hire apprentices: personnel policies, average level of remuneration, possibilities of internal promotion, types of division of labor, technology, hierarchical structure, degree of influence of unions; jobs occupied by apprentices.

(3) The supply of apprentices:

- level of remuneration of apprentices; remuneration of young workers generally, and other ways of employing young people
- social origin and personal characteristics of the apprentices
- working conditions of apprentices: nature of the activity, daily length of work, content, and level of on-the-job training
- rate of success of apprentices versus vocational students in passing the examinations leading to the status of qualified worker.

(4) Internal and external efficiency:

- if the main objective is the integration of specific groups of disadvantaged youths, the percentage that these categories are of the total number of apprentices
- if the main objective is the equalization of chances: rate of success of apprentices in passing academic examinations
- rate of dropout during apprenticeship
- study of the professional careers of former apprentices:
  - did they stay with the same company where they were apprentices?
  - did they establish their own company? If yes, in what sectors? what is the social origin and the methods of financing of those who became independent workers or private entrepreneurs?
  - did they leave for other companies? If the answer is yes, in what type of businesses? at what level of qualification? at what salary?

THE OPERATION OF PARTIAL COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN THE NETHERLANDS*

ARIE MENS AND RUTGER BREMER

1. Introduction

This paper was written within the framework of the project, "Measures to improve the transition from school to work: Assessment methods and data needs," initiated by Selma J. Mushkin and Stanley D. Nollen of the Public Services Laboratory, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. The Dutch Advisory Council for Youth Affairs (Raad voor de Jeugdvorming) in Amsterdam served as intermediary in the request for the writing of this paper and staff of the Council provided commentary on its design.

In this paper are indicated what effects are known of a government measure in the Netherlands relating to the problem of young people who leave full-time education at a young age and become available to the labor market. This government measure dictates partial compulsory education (PCE): The statutory requirement that young people who leave full-time education after 10 years must participate in a special form of part-time education two days a week for one year. This measure was chosen because it is very relevant in the context of the Dutch educational situation and because data can be collected upon which an assessment of its effectiveness can be based.

The data presented in this paper were derived primarily from two sources, viz:

- "Working young people and young adults in PCE," publication no. 4 of the working group for prognosis of participants in PCE, The Hague, March 1978.
- The investigation of educational needs and opportunities for working young people, being conducted by the Institute of Applied Sociology at the University of Nijmegen, and for which the data were collected in the school year 1976-77.

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* Translated by Marc Schoen en Janneke Kaay.

In addition, data were used that appear throughout a number of other sources.

2. Partial Compulsory Education in the Netherlands

In this section, a description is given of PCE in the Netherlands, including the goals of PCE, the target-group of PCE and its characteristics, the kinds of educational facilities through which PCE requirements can be met and their characteristics, and the procedures within the framework of PCE. This section is not of an evaluative nature. It aims to give a description of relevant aspects of PCE.

Partial compulsory education

In the Netherlands, there are 11 years of compulsory education, consisting of 10 years of full-time compulsory education supplemented by one year of PCE for 11th year pupils two days a week. The period of compulsory education is from age 6 or 7 through the ages of 15 or 16. The 11th-year pupils, participants in PCE, are 16 or 17 years old. The 10 years of full-time compulsory education are linked to the present structure of the Dutch educational system. The first six years are spent in primary education. In the subsequent period of four years, there are various possibilities for secondary education, of which the shorter types (elementary vocational training and secondary general education lower level) last, in general, four years.

Ten-year compulsory full-time education with a subsequent 11th year of two-day PCE was introduced on August 1, 1975. At that time, a sweeping series of reforms of compulsory education, started in 1970, came to an end, for the time being at least. Before 1970, compulsory education was two years shorter (eight years) and PCE was as yet unheard of. The present requirements evolved first through nine-year compulsory education (1971) and several kinds of PCE (first for 10th-year pupils, later for 11th-year pupils; first one day a week; later two days a week).

The goals of PCE

PCE was introduced to make possible--for a specific group of young people--a smooth transition from school to work. Those entering the working world at a very young age must at least continue attending school two days a week. In that way, a counter-balance can be offered to three days a week of employment and a contribution can be made towards better preparation for and guidance in participation in society as a whole.

At the beginning of the 1970's, PCE was considered a transitory phase between eight-year compulsory education (1970) and the achievement of 12-year compulsory education. The latter could be achieved by way of a number of phases in which the compulsory age and the compulsory number of days a week could be increased. As a result, among other things, of the worsened economic situation and a change in educators' thinking, other ideas are now being voiced. Now, PCE is looked upon as a permanent alternative to participation in full-time education. In addition, more than two days a week of school attendance is not considered desirable in PCE (based, among other things, upon industrial-organizational considerations).

In the Netherlands, PCE is the object of intense debate. The framework for this debate is formed by different points of view about the extension of compulsory education, i.e., the raising of the school-leaving age. Among others, the following points are made:

- If a very great part of an age group participates in full-time education on a voluntary basis, it is necessary to make this participation compulsory in order to prevent the development of residual groups.

- An extension of compulsory education is the best means to compel the government to create good educational facilities.

- Emphasis upon the extension of compulsory education for reasons of reducing unemployment (more teachers will be needed and fewer youth will be in the labor force) is misplaced. An extension of compulsory education should be based upon educational considerations.

- An extension of compulsory education should only be introduced when adequate educational facilities exist, offering training opportunities that are of value to the groups of young people involved.

- A further extension of compulsory education is not a good means of creating equal chances. A system of recurrent education is far more suitable in this respect.

- It seems peculiar, on the one hand, to compel young people to attend school for a longer period of time, while, on the other, wishing to grant them, in other respects, more freedom.

The most important goal of PCE itself is to offer preparation, guidance, and support to these young people in their new roles as employees. Aside from this, considerations, such as those above obtain, applied to a specific group of young people. These are young people who want to combine study and work or--often more realistically--who decidedly wish to go to work or do not wish to attend school on a full-time basis anymore.

The target group of PCE

The most common means of meeting PCE requirements is through full-time education. When this path is not taken, there are alternatives at special facilities which pupils attend two days a week. In table 1, an overview is given of participation by 16-year olds in full-time education over time.

Table 1. Participation in Full-Time Day Education by 16-Year Olds, 1970-71 to 1982-83 (Projected).

(Percent of the population)

Year	Male	Female
1970-71 (actual)	68.4%	52.3%
1972-73 "	75.8	61.3
1974-75 "	80.8	70.0
1976-77 "	89.7	83.4
1978-79 (prognosis)	93.0	88.4
1980-81 "	95.9	92.7
1982-83 "	98.5	95.1

Source: Working Group on Projection for Participants in PCE. The Hague, March 1978.

In the period from 1970 to 1977, the number of 16-year-olds no longer attending school on a full-time basis dropped drastically. For boys, the reduction was from about 30 percent to 10 percent of the age group, and for girls, the reduction was from 50 percent to 15 percent. The projections indicate that this development will continue. If policy remains unchanged and the trend continues, there will remain only an insignificant number of 16-year-olds not attending school on a full-time basis in the 1980's. In 1982-83, about 4,600 11th-year boys will still belong to this group, and about 12,800 girls. In 1976, these figures were about 21,500 boys and 32,100 girls. This development has many causes, two of which are (1) an economic situation in which young people are discouraged from entering the labor market prematurely and/or with little or no qualifications and (2) changes in the educational system, viz, lengthening of the duration of many training programs.

The group of young people who have to meet PCE requirements outside full-time education is not a cross-section of the age group as a whole. In table 2, some characteristics of this group are shown.

Table 2. Characteristics of 11th Year Students Not Participating in Full-Time Education.

(Percent of all 11th year students)

	Male	Female
Possession of secondary school certificate		
SGE*	4.9%	10.9%
EVT*	30.9	36.9
No certificate	64.2	52.1
Employment		
Employed	78.5	70.5
Unemployed	21.0	29.5
Father's occupation		
No (working) father	40.2	39.1
Un-/semi-skilled laborer	26.1	25.2
Skilled laborer, lower level employee, small trades people	21.1	27.8
Other	12.6	7.9

* See appendix for explanation of abbreviations.

Source: Working Young People's Investigation, Institute of Applied Sociology, University of Nijmegen. (Data collected in the 1976-77 school year.)

A majority of these young people do not have a secondary school certificate. They are dropouts. In most of the cases, those having a certificate received it at elementary vocational training schools, where students are trained for occupations at the level of manual laborer or lower-level employee. Twenty percent of the boys and 30 percent of the girls are unemployed. Those who are employed perform mostly unskilled or semi-skilled labor. About 40 percent come from families in which the father is not working (unemployed or incapacitated) or in which there is no father. About 25 percent of the fathers perform unskilled labor and 25 percent perform work at a level just above that.

These data show that the group has a lopsided composition as regards training, employment, and social origin. Thus, we are confronted with high vulnerability: training is low-level, unemployment is high, and the social environment is poor. Obviously, there are great difficulties for partial compulsory education.

Types of education meeting PCE requirements

As mentioned in the last section, the most common means of meeting PCE requirements is through full-time education. Table 1 even indicates that in the near future, there will remain hardly any young people meeting these requirements through special training programs and courses. In 1976-77, the year of the data in this article, these educational facilities were still significant.

Four types of PCE facilities of this type can be distinguished:

1. Young Workers' General Education (YWGE).
2. In-service Vocational Training (IVT).
3. Designated educational institutes.
4. Recognized courses organized by trade and industry.

The first two types are the most important. In general, YWGE offers no vocational training. The vocational preparation is of an exclusively general nature. In YWGE, the desire is to offer students the opportunity to develop personally and socially. Work is done in groups, and not by traditional educational methods. The staff functions as assistants rather than as teachers. For participants in YWGE, there are no training prerequisites.

In IVT, a direct relation is laid between the content of the course and the pupils' vocation. Very often, there are study contracts with employers which stipulate that specific attention is paid to vocational training at work. Often there are training prerequisites for participants. In that case, they must have an elementary vocational training school certificate.

The third type of special program consists of a variety of possibilities. There are participatory education experiments and cooperative projects between YWGE and IVT. There are also night schools for secondary general education (lower level) and secondary technical education (lower level). The fourth category (recognized courses organized by trade and industry) consists primarily of in-service training for vocations in the nursing field.

These four types of programs differ greatly. This is true not only of the nature of the training program, but also to the extent to which they are directed towards PCE students (see table 3).

Table 3. Number of Students in Special Training Programs by Age.

Special training program	Total enrollment, 1976		11th-year students (Percent of program enrollment)		19-year-old students (Percent of program enrollment)	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
YWGE*	10,327	12,169	70%	85%	10%	5%
IVT*	56,158	11,994	15	10	20	60
Designated/ recognized	10,770	21,249	Unknown		85	70

* See appendix for explanation of abbreviations.

Source: See table 1.

NOTE.—See text for explanation of special training programs.

For the most part, YWGE serves PCE students. A reduction in the number of PCE students not attending school on a full-time basis should have great repercussions for this type of educational institution.

In IVT, which attracts boys in particular, the percentage of students likely to be meeting PCE requirements (11th year students) is very small. For the most part, IVT is an educational institution which is directed towards older youth who are not subject to PCE and is, therefore, far less vulnerable to reductions in their number. This applies to an even greater extent to designated or recognized courses.

There are important developments at hand in the entire area of educational facilities for working young people. Just mentioned were participatory education experiments, in which attention is paid to both general social development and vocational training, and to a guided introduction to occupational practices. These experiments have existed for many years. But recently the government has been promoting cooperation between YWGE and IVT at the regional level as well. The latest development is the involvement of (day) schools in elementary vocational training and secondary vocational training (lower level) in this cooperative effort.

Procedures within the framework of PCE.--The most important regulations relate to three areas, viz, registration, exemptions, and compliance.

The parents are responsible for registration. The student himself is required to attend school regularly. Under the Labour Act of 1919, the employer is obliged to arrange for course attendance. Schools must report registrations and withdrawals to the municipality in which they are situated. If the child does not attend school in the municipality where he lives, this information must then be forwarded to the latter.

Exemptions from PCE are possible. The two most important grounds are a medical certificate of physical or mental incapacity, and a decisive objection by the parents to the ideology of the school or schools at a reasonable distance from their home.

The mayor and aldermen of the municipality are charged with overseeing compliance with compulsory education. Compulsory education (CE) officers are in charge of the actual operation. If the parents have not registered a child to whom PCE applies, and no exemption has been granted, the CE officer contacts the parents. In cases of persistence, he issues a warrant tendered to the Public Prosecutor. The statutory fines are relatively low. Unlawful absence of students of more than three days must be reported by the schoolmaster to the municipality. The CE officer must try to prevail upon the student, but he does not have disciplinary sanctions at his disposal as this is not considered consonant with an educational approach. In case of contravention of the labor prohibition, the CE officer must call in the labor inspection..

The government gives a so-called PCE incentive premium to employers employing PCE students registered at educational institutions designated for PCE. This measure is of a temporary nature and is intended to accommodate employers for whom PCE can be a serious inconvenience so long as they are unaccustomed to the situation.

3. The Operation of PCE

In this section, five different subjects are touched upon, which together give an impression of the operation of PCE. These five subjects are administrative procedures, evasion of PCE, differences between the several types of part-time educational facilities, opinions of PCE students themselves, and differences among regions.

Administrative procedures

In 1976, an investigation of PCE was conducted by the Association of Dutch Municipalities (VNG) in which the procedural aspects were the main object of investigation. The investigation concerned the experiences and opinions of the municipalities which play an important role within the framework of PCE. The most important results can be summarized as follows:

Half of the municipalities have difficulties meeting their requirements with respect to registration and withdrawal of PCE students. In most cases, the educational institutions are held responsible for this, by reporting information too late to either the student's municipality or to the school's municipality which, in turn, informs the student's municipality too late. In these cases, the CE officers lack the information they need to act in time upon contravention of PCE regulations.

In the opinion of the legislators, supervision of compliance with PCE regulations should be more in the nature of a social service than judicial action. However, there is hardly any indication that PCE activities are officially being placed organizationally within the framework of the social services of the municipalities. The civil servants involved nearly always work in the departments of population or education of the municipality. Besides, in most cases, it is a part-time assignment as well.

In about 50 percent of the municipalities (especially the larger ones), warrants are issued for contravention of PCE regulations. The judicial procedures are, however, often unsatisfactory. The procedure is usually too slow and takes too long, the fines are too low, and in some areas charges for PCE cases are systematically dismissed by the public prosecutor. Offenders are either not punished at all, or not punished in time, so that they are not, after all, likely to meet their requirements either. Consequently, judicial action has hardly any preventative effect.

With respect to absenteeism among PCE students, many CE officers experience the lack of disciplinary sanctions as an obstacle. They are sympathetic to the educational approach, which permits them only to use persuasive means, but, as a result, their work is also less effective.

Evasion of PCE

It will come as no surprise that there are many complaints about evasion of PCE. We get an impression of the extent of evasion from the Working Young People's Investigation of the Institute of Applied Sociology and the fourth publication of the work group on Projection of Participants in PCE.

About one-fourth of the young people not attending school on a full-time basis, but to whom PCE applies, are not registered at all at a PCE institution. This group of complete evaders does not, therefore, meet PCE requirements at all. Further, there is the phenomenon of partial evaders--absenteeism by those who are registered at an educational institution. This group, too, consists of one-fourth of the PCE eligibles. Two kinds of partial evasion can be distinguished: the student who attends school at some periods or never and the students who attends only one day a week instead of two. The former is especially prevalent among girls, and the latter among boys.

In summary, it is clear that the problem of evasion is very great. Half of the group to which PCE applies either comply insufficiently to the requirements or do not comply at all.

Differences between several types of part-time education

This section deals with the differences in the composition of the group of registered students in YWGE and IVT. Complete evaders are not included, nor are those meeting PCE requirements at designated educational institutions or recognizes courses (cf. p. .

Of the registered PCE students, approximately 37 percent of the boys and 56 percent of the girls go to a YWGE institute; 42 percent of the boys and 32 percent of the girls to IVT schools; 16 percent of the boys and 4 percent of the girls go to a combination of the two (in particular, a day-time YWGE institute and a day-time IVT school); and 4 percent of the boys and 8 percent of the girls attend one of the remaining designated or recognized training courses. A majority of PCE girls therefore go to a YWGE institute, whereas boys are registered as often at YWGE institutes as at IVT schools or both.

In tables 4 and 5, some essential data are reported showing in what ways the groups registered at YWGE institutes and IVT schools differ. There are considerable differences between the two types of schools in the educational background of the PCE students. Most noticeable is that a majority of students at IVT schools have a certificate, whereas this is not the case at YWGE institutes. The social origins of participants in YWGE are, on the average, on a lower level than those of IVT participants. Of the former, about 75 percent belong to the two lowest categories, whereas this applies to only 50-55 percent of the latter. Further, nearly 35 percent of YWGE participants are unemployed, whereas about 15 percent of IVT pupils are out of work.

Overall, the composition of the IVT group is more favorable. This is true for social class, level of previous schooling, and employment. It has already been noted that the group not meeting PCE requirements at a full-time educational institution has a lopsided composition: a relatively low level of previous schooling, a relatively poor socioeconomic background, and a relatively high instance of unemployment. It is clear that also within this group there are great differences, whereby YWGE has to work with a group

Table 4. Educational Background of 11th-year PCE Students in YWGE and IVT in 1976-77.

(Percent of all 11th-year students)

Educational background	YWGE Boys	YWGE Girls	IVT Boys	IVT Girls
Already in part-time education	14.8%	9.9%	7.5%	8.5%
No secondary education	6.7	2.5	0.3	0.1
SGE,* no certificate	3.2	4.8	3.7	6.0
SGE, certificate holders	4.9	8.3	4.2	11.0
EVT,* no certificate	37.9	38.0	23.3	25.9
EVT, certificate holders	28.8	34.5	57.7	47.9
Other schools, no certificate	2.0	0.5	1.2	0.4
Other schools, certificate holders	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.1
No secondary education	1.4	1.4	1.9	0.1

* See appendix for explanation of abbreviations.

Source: Based on publication no. 4 of the working group on Projection of Participants in PCE, March 1978.

Table 5. Father's Occupation and Employment of 11th-year PCE Students in YWGE and IVT in 1976-77.

(Percent of all 11th-year students)

Item	YWGE Boys	YWGE Girls	IVT Boys	IVT Girls
Father's occupation				
No (working) father	48.1%	45.5%	27.8%	36.6%
Un-/semi-skilled laborer	25.0	29.2	32.7	17.3
Skilled laborer, lower level employee, small trades people	19.7	22.8	26.0	36.8
Other	7.2	2.6	13.5	9.2
Employment of student				
Yes	63.0	62.9	83.3	83.1
No	37.0	37.1	16.7	16.9

Source: See table 4.

whose composition is the most problematic. Relatively speaking, IVT is in a more favorable position.

The opinions of PCE students themselves

Here we shall touch upon the opinions of those registered at one of the educational institutions through which PCE requirements may be met. The opinions of the complete evaders are not reported; insofar as they apply, they are obviously even more negative.

About 60 percent of the 11th-year students would not attend PCE if it were not compulsory. They would have started working instead. About 65 percent of the 11th-year students are against extending PCE to a day a week for 12th-year students (only 25 percent favor such an extension).

The opinions of YWGE participants are less favorable than those of IVT students. Furthermore, it appears that YWGE students are less satisfied with the value of the type of institution they attend than IVT students. The extent to which school attendance is experienced as being pleasurable, though, does not differ between them.

These brief statements show that, in general, there is a negative attitude towards PCE and the types of educational institutions at which PCE requirements can be met. This negative attitude is especially prevalent among YWGE participants.

Regional differences

Up to now, data have been reported that apply to the situation in the whole of the Netherlands. But there are great differences between various regions of the country. National data may, therefore, not be applied automatically to regions.

In this section, we shall compare four strongly differing regions (selected from the 39 regions in which the country has been divided). The four selected areas are:

1. Twente (the east of the country).
2. Tip of North-Holland (the northwestern part).
3. Agglomeration The Hague (situated in the west).
4. South Limburg (the southernmost part of the country).

The following is a short characterization in very general terms of each of these regions.

Table 6. Characteristics of 16-year Olds Not Participating in Full-time Education, by Sex and Region.

(Percent)

	National average		Boys				Girls			
	Boys	Girls	Twente	Tip of North Holland	Agglomeration The Hague	South Limburg	Twente	Tip of North Holland	Agglomeration The Hague	South Limburg
Possession of secondary school certificate										
SGE*	4.9%	10.9%								
EVT*	30.9	36.9	46.2%	52.0%	25.5%	28.0%	54.0%	69.4%	41.2%	37.5%
No certificate	64.2	52.1	53.8	48.0	74.5	72.0	46.0	30.6	58.8	62.5
Participation in part-time education										
YWCE*	27.3	44.8	23.1	10.0	23.4	44.0	40.0	34.7	38.2	62.5
IVT*	28.5	25.5	34.0	30.0	29.8	22.0	34.0	14.3	32.4	14.6
Combination and other part-time education	18.1	9.5	19.2	12.0	21.3	18.0	12.0	14.2	5.9	8.3
No part-time education education	26.2	20.2	23.1	48.0	25.5	16.0	14.0	36.7	23.5	14.6
Employment										
Employed	78.5	70.5	75.0	90.0	89.0	72.0	76.0	71.4	85.3	47.9
Unemployed	21.0	29.5	25.0	10.0	19.1	28.0	24.0	28.5	14.7	52.1
Father's occupation										
No (working) father	40.2	39.1	30.8	18.4	34.1	65.3	36.7	31.2	32.4	53.2
Un-/semi-skilled laborer	26.1	25.2	34.6	20.4	31.8	18.4	34.7	29.2	17.6	21.3
Skilled laborer, lower level employee, small-trades people	21.1	27.8	23.0	24.5	25.0	14.3	22.5	33.3	38.3	19.1
Other	12.6	7.9	11.5	36.7	9.1	2.0	6.1	6.3	11.8	6.4

* See appendix for explanation of abbreviations.

Source: See table 4.

- Twente has an approximately average age composition, the unemployment rate deviates little from the average (1975), there is proportionately much work in industry and little in other services and in banking, there are slightly fewer than the average number of elementary vocational school (EVT) pupils and an average number of opportunities for attending secondary school.

- The Tip of North-Holland has an extremely young population, there is little unemployment, there is relatively little work in industry, an average amount of work in banking and relatively a great deal in other services, extremely high participation in EVT (the highest in the Netherlands) and extremely little participation in secondary general education (SGE), and an average number of opportunities for secondary education.

- The Agglomeration The Hague has a greatly aging population, an average unemployment rate, relatively little work in industry but a great deal in banking and other services, a proportionately high participation in SGE (and little in EVT), and an extremely large number of opportunities to attend secondary school (relatively the largest in the Netherlands).

- South Limburg has a slightly older than average population, an extremely high unemployment rate (almost the highest in in the Netherlands), proportionately much work in industry, an average amount in banking and very little in other services, proportionately many SGE students (and few in EVT), and few opportunities for secondary education.

These short descriptions make clear that through the selection of these four areas, we have conducted the research in regions that differ strongly as to demographic and socioeconomic characteristics and as to educational facilities and participation.

A number of characteristics of 16-year olds not in full-time education are reported for each of these regions in table 6. Among the notable points are the following:

- The percentage of certificate holders is much lower in The Hague and South Limburg than in the other regions.

- Participation in YWGE is highest in South Limburg, complete evasion is most frequent in the Tip of North-Holland, and, in general, least frequent in South Limburg.

- The unemployment rate is highest in South Limburg, particularly among girls, and lowest in the Tip of North-Holland and The Hague.

- In South Limburg, more than half of the PCE students come from families in which the father is not working (unemployed or disabled) or in which there is no father.
- The percentage of PCE students is the lowest in the Tip of North-Holland for both boys and girls. In the other three regions, the percentage for boys is approximately the same; for girls, The Hague and South Limburg have the lowest percentages.

In the different regions, PCE takes on a widely differing character. This applies to the size of the target group, as well as to evasion of PCE, and to the type of part-time institutions at which PCE requirements are met. This also applies to the more general characteristics, such as percentage of certificate holders, employment, and social origin. In the main, the three last-mentioned characteristics run parallel to overall regional characteristics, in particular the unemployment figures.

The data in this table show quite clearly that a discussion of the operation of PCE limited to national data obscures regional differences. Obviously, the choice of the level of aggregation of data depends on specific questions, but as soon as we wish to get an accurate picture of the way in which PCE functions in practice, it is necessary to look at the regional level.

4. Conclusions

In noting the conclusions to be drawn from the above data, we consider not only the data themselves, but also the aim of this study. The purpose of the project, of which this study forms part, was not only to examine several measures pertinent to the transition problem (transition from school to work), but also to infer from these data the effectiveness of the policy from which these measures have been derived.

As to the latter, a statement about the objective of the measures from the point of view of the responsible authorities (the government, parliament, etc.) would be indispensable. Some of the considerations with respect to the possible goals of partial compulsory education were mentioned in Section 2. Examining these arguments (and the identity of the participants in the debate that arose over PCE) in order to arrive at a conclusion in favor of or opposed to specific alternatives would lead us away from the point. Implied here is the fact that no clear and obvious policy aim exists. A close examination of the legislation, government measures, discussions in parliament, and other information would be needed in order to obtain a consensus opinion with respect to compulsory education--if it exists at all. What can be said with a minimum risk of unorthodoxy has been summarized in Section 2.

Does this mean that a comparison between the aim of policy measures and their effects is impossible? It seems realistic to answer in the affirmative. Strictly speaking, it is impossible.

However, from the above data a number of suggestions can be made as to the intended and unintended but real consequences of a policy measure, once it has been taken. For example, what about the intention "to offer preparation, guidance, and support to these young people in their new roles as employees" versus the percentages of young people compelled to use PCE institutions as alternatives to work? And, pursuing the argument, what is the value of young people attached to PCE in view of their future chances in the labor market? "Preparation, guidance, and support" get a special significance in this context. These words could be interpreted rather cynically. Is this equivalent to saying that the PCE measures have proved to be ineffective? Or that, in other words, effects have been realized other than those originally intended? This seems at least partly undeniable. It could move the author of this paper to conclude that the effectiveness of government policy in itself is an ambivalent concept, yet to be elucidated.

Another conclusion, somewhat less theoretical in its nature but just as pertinent, should be that apart from the ambivalence of the purpose of government policy, the effects of the policy (insofar as they can be considered effects, since other factors--some of them uncontrollable--influence the ultimate results) are ambivalent, or at least pointing in different directions.

Anyone willing to investigate the effectiveness of government policies on a given item (e.g., PCE) would certainly have to substitute for reality, complex as it is, a given set of aims as a hypothesis about the direction of policy. Secondly, he would have to single out from the reality of given consequences or contingent effects a workable set of phenomena which could be compared with the set of aims hypothesized above.

This does not mean that we should be disappointed with the net result of the above study. It may be considered a "pilot study" for the project of which it forms a part. Furthermore, it contains some useful remarks about a policy in evolution: a policy which, as far as we are concerned, is unique in its kind as a government contribution to the easing of the transition from school to work for some of the least advantaged members of our society.

Appendix

List of abbreviations

SGE	Secondary General Education (AVO - algemeen vormend onderwijs)
SGE lower level	Secondary General Education lower level (MAVO - middelbaar algemeen voortgezet onderwijs)
SGE higher level	Secondary General Education higher level (HAVO - hoger algemeen voortgezet onderwijs en VWO - voorbereidend wetenschappelijk onderwijs)
Students in PCE	Students in Partial Compulsory Education (partieel leerplichtigen)
YWGE	Young Workers' General Education (VWJ - Vormingswerk Werkende Jongeren)
EVT	Elementary Vocational Training (LBO - Lager Beroepsonderwijs)
IVT	In-service Vocational Training (Beroepsbegeleidend Onderwijs)

VOCATIONAL PREPARATION AS A LINK BETWEEN SCHOOLING AND WORK LIFE

FRANK BRAUN

Introduction

At first view, the transition from school to work appears to be primarily a technical problem. The occupational system sets certain requirements for entrance. The school system provides school leavers with the skills, attitudes, and knowledge that are required for entrance to the job market. If certain groups of young persons do not get these skills, they will face difficulties in their efforts to enter vocational training or employment. Remedial courses may then bridge the gap between the inadequate preparation of school leavers and the requirements of the occupational system. Through assessment, the extent to which such courses are successful might be determined. This assumes, of course, that positions for vocational training and employment are available.

With the rise of youth unemployment and a growing shortage of positions for vocational training, this assumption becomes inappropriate. Unemployment enables employers to raise entrance requirements in order to reduce training costs. Then expansion of remedial courses for new groups of young persons who do not meet these new requirements follows. But expansion takes place at a time when a major barrier to successful transition is job scarcity--and there is preparation for jobs that do not exist. By necessity, the actual functions served by remedial bridge courses will undergo shifts and their objectives will change.

It is this development that has become characteristic of vocational preparation through off-the-job skill training as a link-between schooling and work life. It is under these circumstances that in addition to training purposes, these courses have taken on a variety of rapidly changing political functions. It is rapid change under circumstances of what can be described as a social crisis that makes difficult the identification of the real objectives of these courses and the assessment of their outcomes.

For better understanding of vocational preparation, its status, its objectives, and its outcomes, it is therefore necessary to sketch its development. A discussion of the technical aspects of the assessment of a program that neglects the context of its objectives will not be able to produce useful results.

1. Definition Of The Problem

After four or six years of comprehensive schooling in the elementary schools (at the age of either eleven or thirteen years), school children in the Federal Republic of Germany are, through various means of selection, channeled into three different branches of secondary schools that differ in duration, curricula, and quality of certificates that may be obtained:[1]

- Secondary education in the Hauptschule (the "main" school) results in a total of nine years of schooling which is the duration of compulsory full-time schooling.[2] The Hauptschul curriculum gives preparation primarily for vocational training in the crafts, industry, and clerical jobs. The Hauptschul certificate has over the last few years become the minimum requirement for access to such training. In 1974, approximately 430,000, or 50 percent, of all school leavers were from the Hauptschule. Approximately 370,000 of them had obtained the Hauptschul certificate.[3]

- The Realschule (the middle school) is completed after a total of ten years of schooling. The quality of schooling in the Realschule is generally superior to that of the Hauptschule, and its certificate provides access to better quality vocational training opportunities. In 1974, approximately 200,000, or nearly 25 percent, of all school leavers held this certificate.

- In the hierarchy of secondary schools, the Gymnasium constitutes the highest level of general education. After a total of 13 years of schooling in a primarily college preparatory curriculum, graduates of the Gymnasium have a near-exclusive access to higher education. In 1974, 115,000, or 15 percent, of all school leavers graduated from this type of secondary school.

About 5 percent of all school leavers have completed compulsory education in none of the regular secondary schools, but rather in schools of special education or Sonderschulen. Among them, graduates of the Sonderschule fur Lernbehinderte (special school for pupils with learning difficulties) constitute by far the largest group.

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[1] In the Federal Republic of Germany, Lander (state) governments are responsible for the schools. While there are attempts to maintain comparable structures between the Lander school systems, there is a large degree of variation. Cf. Bericht Der Bundesregierung, pp. 25-34.

[2] In several Lander, a voluntary tenth year is added.

[3] For data on school leavers in 1974, cf. Berufsberatung, 1974-75, p. 9.

After completing--or dropping out of--their respective secondary or special education school, the majority of school leavers from Hauptschule, Realschule, and Sonderschule move on to vocational education, either in a full-time vocational school (about one-fifth) or in what is referred to as the "dual system" of vocational training. In the dual system, school leavers are still subject to part-time compulsory schooling in a vocational school one or two days a week while about 60 to 80 percent of their vocational training takes place in an apprenticeship in a private or public enterprise. Thus, for these groups of school leavers, the apprenticeship in the dual system is the most important means of transition from secondary school to work. Only after completing the apprenticeship (taking on the average two or three years) and after passing the respective examination have they achieved what is considered the minimum of vocational preparation and of socially accepted occupational status. Only then do they have a minimum of job security.

For a number of reasons, not all school leavers from Hauptschule, Realschule, or Sonderschule enter either full-time vocational schools or apprenticeships. About 20 percent of them take up unskilled work without previous vocational training, though they are still subject to part-time compulsory vocational schooling, on the average one day a week. From the mid-1950's to the early 1970's when the overall supply of apprenticeships by far exceeded the number of school leavers, the primary causes for the failure to enter an apprenticeship were readily identified as lack of ability, deficiencies in previous training, and lack of educational and occupational motivation.[4]

From the 1960's on, the improvement of vocational training for young unskilled workers and ultimately their integration into the "dual system" has been declared one of the most urgent objectives of reform in vocational education. In accordance with the heterogeneous makeup of young unskilled persons, a variety of strategies were suggested, discussed, and in some instances implemented on a small scale. Within this variety, two pervading types of measures can be identified:

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[4] A careful analysis of statistics shows that among young unskilled persons, there is a severe overrepresentation of girls, who constitute two-thirds of the group, and that there are extreme regional disproportions. This has only recently been interpreted as indicative that, in addition to characteristics of members of the target group, a regionally insufficient supply of apprenticeships and an insufficient quality of apprenticeships--particularly for girls--may account for a large part of the occupational careers of young unskilled workers. Cf. Bednarz, pp. 38-46.

- Measures aimed at creating new courses of vocational training below the current level of vocational education, thus meeting the assumedly lower abilities of the target group.

- Compensatory measures aimed at bringing members of the target group up to the level of current requirements for entering vocational training.

From 1969 on, the Federal Bureau of Labor has initiated and expanded courses of six months to one year duration for school leavers without an apprenticeship. The courses are aimed at bridging the gap between school and work. The number of participants in these courses has increased from approximately 8,000 in 1971-72 to almost 40,000 in 1975-76.[5] During the same period, the school systems of the Lander began to establish and expand one year's courses for the same target group. They had 265 participants in 1971-72 and about 18,000 participants in 1976.[6] Despite these efforts, the number of school leavers entering work without previous vocational training, after declining for several decades, is rising rapidly. What are the reasons?

In the dual system of vocational training, the supply of openings for apprentices is subject to the economic considerations of each enterprise. As a consequence of the introduction of increasingly sophisticated technology, apprenticeship training through learning by doing on the job has steadily been replaced by formalized training in special training shops. While the cost of training has thus been increased, opportunities to profitably employ apprentices were reduced by technological developments as well as protective laws and regulations. In addition, by setting minimum standards for the training and employment of apprentices, the Industrial Training Act (Berufsbildungsgesetz) of 1969 has supported the trend towards rising costs in industrial training and led to the elimination of training in enterprises that did not meet these standards. Thus, between 1970 and 1976, the number of new openings for apprentices annually registered with the Federal Bureau of Labor declined from 650,000 to 300,000. While in 1970 about 250,000 openings remained vacant, in 1976 only 18,000 were left. At the same time, there were 50,000 applicants who could not find apprenticeships.[7]

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[5] Cf. Berufsvorbereitende Massnahmen? Ergebnisse Im Berichtsjahr, 1975-76, p. 378. During a previous period of large scale youth unemployment (1949-50), similar courses were established to facilitate the transition to work of post-war school leavers. A small number of such courses has existed ever since. The interesting fact is that with the Labor Promotion Act of 1969, the reexpansion of these courses began at a time when youth unemployment was relatively low.

[6] Cf. Klassen Und Scholer Im Berufsgrundbildungsjahr.

It is striking that neither Federal nor Lander administrations are able to accurately quantify the size of the deficit of places in any detail. The figures that are annually published by the Federal Bureau of Labor cover only a portion of the supply and demand for apprenticeships. It is known that there are considerable variations in the involvement of the Bureau as intermediator by enterprises (size of the enterprises, branch, region) and characteristics of school leavers (type of secondary school, region). The only estimates on the overall deficit and its distribution indicate that:[8]

- the deficit varies considerably between regions. Thus, even if in overall figures the supply exceeded the demand by 12.5 percent--a criterion set by the federal government[9]--in many regions, school leavers would still be unable to enter vocational training.
- the shortage of apprenticeships has led to a chain of displacements among applicants with different quality school certificates. Graduates of the Realschule displace those who hold Hauptschul certificates. For those who leave secondary and special education schools without the Hauptschul certificate, the chances of entering vocational education are nil.
- the shortage is more severe for girls, for whom opportunities for vocational training have always been inferior.
- for school leavers of other than German nationality, e.g., for the children of migrant workers, access to vocational training is almost impossible, even if they hold Hauptschul certificates.
- access to vocational training is particularly difficult for those groups of school leavers among whom young persons of working class origin are overrepresented. The shortage thus

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7. Cf. Berufsberatung, 1972-73, p. 37, and Berufsberatung, 1975-76, pp. 29, 31, and 71.

8. An amendment to the 1969 Industrial Training Act, the Ausbildungsplatzforderungsgesetz of 1976, contains the provision that data on the system of vocational education be assembled and published by the Bundesinstitut fur Berufsbildung. As previously, the compilation of statistics was left to a large variety of institutions; this proves to be a difficult task which is still in progress.

9. Cf. Das Ausbildungsplatzforderungsgesetz, § 2.

strengthens the existing class bias of the educational system.

From 1974 on, the shortage of training opportunities has been accompanied by a sharp rise in youth unemployment. In less than a year, the total number of unemployed persons registered with the Federal Bureau of Labor had risen from approximately 200,000 to 1,000,000. While in previous recessions, particularly 1967-68, young persons were hardly affected, they were now clearly overrepresented. According to the Bureau's statistics, unemployment in the age group 15 to 20 since 1975 has been at a level of about 100,000.[10] In the age 15 to 18 bracket, this figure represents unskilled workers exclusively, as apprentices hold contracts for the complete duration of their training. Improved job protection for older workers, lack of work experience by the young, and a number of special protective laws--compulsory part-time schooling, limited working hours, prohibition of employment on round-the-clock shifts and on dangerous jobs--have made the employment of young workers less profitable to employers.[11] For a school leaver entering working life without previous vocational training, the chances of reaching the age of 18 without at least one short phase of unemployment is nil.

Under these circumstances, the situation of school leavers is a difficult one indeed. Motivation for entering vocational training appears to be at an all time high, but chances of entering quality vocational training are continuously being diminished as a consequence of the shortage of places. With a demographic wave bringing about an annual rise in the number of school leavers from Hauptschule and Realschule until 1980, a speedy improvement of conditions cannot be anticipated. School leavers have shown a great deal of flexibility. They have lowered their educational and occupational aspirations and accepted apprenticeships that are clearly below their ability. But there are still those for whom flexibility will procure neither job nor apprenticeship because they cannot compete.

2. Objectives

It is in the context of these developments that the establishment and expansion of bridging courses for school leavers have to be described. In the course of these developments, the construction of such courses has been modified, objectives have been transformed, and new target groups had to be taken care of.

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[10] There are estimates that the actual number of unemployed youth is somewhere between 200,000 and 300,000. Cf. Braun/Weidacher, p. 7.

[11] Obviously, these are not the sole causes for unemployment but suggest some reasons for the overrepresentation of young workers among the total number of unemployed.

When in 1968-69 the Federal Bureau of Labor began to extend its commitment to vocational preparation, two types of courses, differing both in objectives and target groups, were established:

Courses of vocational preparation Type F were established for those school leavers who were "physically and/or mentally lacking the maturity to enter vocational education and who through participation in the course could be expected to gain this maturity."[12] Operationally defined, the participants were to be "...school leavers from the Sonderschule for pupils with learning difficulties and comparable school leavers from the Hauptschule who require the special help of the Type F course because of learning difficulties that do not lie in disabilities of merely temporary character."[13] Through vocational training in up to five different vocational areas, the participant is supposed to acquire basic technical skills. At the same time, his knowledge of these areas will enable him to rationally choose the vocation in which he will enter an apprenticeship. In addition, a number of extrafunctional skills and attitudes are to be acquired: responsibility, care, punctuality, consistency, ability to bear stress, cleanliness, orderliness, etc.

Courses of vocational preparation Type V "are intended for school leavers who presumably will not be able to meet the requirements of vocational training and who are still lacking the maturity for the transition to work in the labor market or in a sheltered employment center."[14] Elsewhere they are characterized as "handicapped" or as "poor students in Hauptschule and Sonderschule for pupils with learning difficulties... who presumably will not be able to meet the objectives of the Type F course."[15]

The selection of participants for Type V courses (as for Type F courses) is done by the vocational guidance departments (Berufsberatung) of the local branches of the Federal Bureau of Labor. This task involves a grave responsibility as selection for the Type V course implies selection for a career of unskilled labor and substandard occupational and social status. It is the objective of the course to prepare "participants to acquire the ability to fulfill simple tasks and jobs," and to provide "job orientation."[16]

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[12] Berufsvorbereitende Massnahmen Als Hilfe, p. 1984. All quotes were translated by the author.

[13] Berufsvorbereitende Massnahmen, Ergebnisse Im Berichtsjahr, 1975-76, p. 369.

[14] Berufsvorbereitende Massnahmen Als Hilfe, p. 1284.

[15] Rahmenvorstellungen Zur Durchfohrung Von Forderungslehrgangen, p. 3.

[16] Ibid., pp. 1, 3.

With the rise of youth unemployment in 1974, the Federal Bureau of Labor established three additional types of courses of vocational preparation: Type G1 is meant for "school leavers who aspire to vocational training but cannot enter training because of the shortage of apprenticeships."[17] It is the objective of the course to provide basic technical training while bridging the period until an apprenticeship is found.

Type G2 is meant for school leavers who aspire to vocational training but "whose applications for apprenticeship are futile because of poor school achievement."[18] This definition designates a group of school leavers who, until the early 1970's, had entered (and frequently successfully completed) vocational training and who, in the competition for scarce apprenticeships, are now being displaced by applicants holding better quality certificates. They are still registered with the vocational guidance departments as applicants for apprenticeships (and not for unskilled jobs). It is through the course that the lowering of educational and occupational aspirations is to be effected. The course is "aimed at work requirements that the participant will meet as (unskilled) worker" (not as an apprentice); "in the course the participants are to acquire basic skills for those jobs that provide work and on the job training opportunities in the respective local labor market."[18]

Type G3 bears the least specific target group definition. It is designed for "unemployed youth for whom - for various reasons - vocational training is out of the question."[19] The content of the course is aimed at providing the participants with basic vocational skills, appropriate work habits, knowledge of safety regulations, and similar habits and attitudes required for immediate unskilled employment without additional training.[20]

The Federal Bureau of Labor has stated as its policy for all its courses of vocational preparation that it considers the establishment of such courses not so much its own task but rather the task of the school system. "Its (the Bureau's) commitment to the initiation of these courses and the financial support to participants will therefore be terminated, when the system of general education is able to fulfill the task of offering the specific learning arrangements that are needed to provide all youth--including those with learning difficulties and disabilities in accordance with their respective capability--with the skills and attitudes required for vocational training or unskilled work."[21]

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17. Rahmenvorstellungen Zur Durchfohrung Von Grundausbildungslehrgangen, p. 223.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid., p. 224.

20. Ibid.

21. Berufsvorbereitende Massnahmen, Ergebnisse Im Berichtsjahr, 1975-76, p. 369.

In a number of school systems of the Länder, one year courses for full-time schooling of school leavers without an apprenticeship existed as early as in the 1950's. These courses generally had the status of experiments. Only with the increased shortage of apprenticeships and the rise in youth unemployment have these courses been expanded to the degree where they are now both complementing and replacing courses initiated by the Federal Bureau of Labor. The responsibility for the establishment and the design of these courses rests with the departments of education of the Lander. As a consequence, principles of construction, target groups, and objectives vary to a certain degree among the various Lander. To cover the whole scale of possible variations, courses of vocational preparation of the school systems of three Lander (Bayern, Nordrhein-Westfalen, and Rheinland-Pfalz) will be briefly described.

As a measure of reform of vocational education, all Lander have established experimental courses of basic vocational training (Berufsgrandbildung). These one-year courses cover the basic content not of a single vocation, but of a related group of vocations (Berufsfeld), thus providing a broader basis for further vocational training and preventing premature specialization. According to an agreement of the departments of culture of the Lander, graduates of these courses receive full credit when entering an apprenticeship. In the long run, participation in these basic education courses is to replace the first year of training in the "dual system" of vocational training.

In addition to the 11 vocational areas of basic education that are covered by the agreement among the Lander, Bayern was the first of the Lander to establish a special course of basic vocational training for those school leavers "who either do not aspire to vocational training in the 'dual system' or who do not want to accept any of the available openings for apprentices."[22] The course is "to provide basic vocational training for future unskilled workers, that is: persons who do not aspire to an apprenticeship."[23] The participants are to acquire basic skills that are required on the local labor market for unskilled workers. Upon the completion of the courses, they receive a report card indicating these skills.[24] Even if they then do enter an apprenticeship, they do not get credit for the course.[25]

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22. Bayerisches Staatsministerium For Unterricht Und Kultus, Bekanntmachung, p. 2.

23. Ibid.

24. Bayerisches Staatsministerium For Unterricht Und Kultus, Anderung der Bekanntmachung, pp. 135-135.

25. Bayerisches Staatsministerium For Unterricht Und Kultus, Schulversuche, pp. 1688-1689.

The Department of Education of Rheinland-Pfalz has designed three different types of courses of basic vocational training for school leavers who do not obtain apprenticeships. The differentiation is among different target groups:

- School leavers with or without certificate who are of "normal intelligence."
- School leavers with learning difficulties with an IQ of 80 and above (±5).
- School leavers with learning handicaps with an IQ between 60 and 80.[26]

In addition to criteria, such as school certificate and measure of intelligence, a variety of tests are experimented with to improve selection for the different courses. In spite of these efforts, both the schedules for the courses and the intended outcomes are similar. In all three types of courses, there are 20 hours of vocational theory and practice, 4 hours of natural sciences, and 10 hours of general education.[27] All three intend to lead participants to either vocational training in the "dual system" or to the ability to take up work in the labor market for the unskilled. And in none of the courses do the participants receive credit for the course when starting an apprenticeship.

In April 1974, before the dramatic rise of youth unemployment, the Department of Education of Nordrhein-Westfalen published guidelines for the establishment of a course of vocational preparation (Berufsvorbereitungsjahr) in the vocational schools of the Land. This course was intended for those school leavers who had not chosen a specific vocation or branch of basic vocational training or who would not benefit from participation in a basic vocational training course.[28] It was clearly the objective of the course to enhance the participant's ability to rationally choose an appropriate vocation for training after completion of the course and at the same time limit learning deficiencies through compensatory education.

In March 1976, when Nordrhein-Westfalen had more than its share of youth unemployment and a number of programs for its reduction had failed, these guidelines were modified: Now, participation in the course of vocational preparation became obligatory for all those school leavers who did not attend a school of full-time vocational training or did not hold a regular job or an apprenticeship. In the course schedule, those contents relating to the acquisition of basic technical skills were slightly strengthened, the share of general education was reduced, and the course's previous objective--preparing for vocational training--was now extended to preparation for unskilled jobs. In addition, participation in the course involved the completion of the three years' part-time compulsory vocational schooling for those participants who did not continue their vocational training, thus increasing their placement opportunities as unskilled workers.[29] But in July 1977, a new revision of the guidelines cancelled this provision.[30] At this time, the possibilities of obtaining the Hauptschul certificate were strengthened, thus improving the participants' competitive status in the market for apprenticeships.

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[26] Der Kultusminister Des Landes Rheinland-Pfalz, Schulische Mabnahmen, S. 1.

[27] Der Kultusminister Des Landes Rheinland-Pfalz, Grundsatze, pp. 240-241.

[28] Der Kultusminister Des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Richtlinien zum Berufsgrundschuljahr, pp. 125 f.

In spite of the differences between the various one-year bridging courses for school leavers, a number of general conclusions can be drawn. With the growing shortage of apprenticeships and with the rise of youth unemployment, the target groups and the objectives of courses of vocational preparation have been modified and extended. Initially, they were designed for school leavers with learning difficulties. It was the objective of the courses to lead these school leavers through compensatory measures up to the level where they would be able to take up an apprenticeship. With the introduction of Type G courses by the Federal Bureau of Labor and the revision of guidelines by the Lander departments of education, courses of vocational preparation were increasingly offered to school leavers who by definition were not lacking the ability to enter an apprenticeship, but who were either unable to compete for the insufficient number of apprenticeships available or who were unwilling to accept the (low quality) apprenticeships that were open to them. While the quality of participants in the courses was thus raised, the objectives of the courses were lowered. The objective of preparation for an apprenticeship was either replaced by or extended to training for positions in the market for unskilled labor.

3. Provisions Of The Measures

In establishing courses of vocational preparation, the function of the Federal Bureau of Labor and its Lander and local offices is limited to:

- suggesting the organization of the course to other institutions
- selecting participants

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[29] Der Kultusminister Des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Programm gegen die Jugendarbeitslosigkeit, p. 195.

[30] Der Kultusminister Des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Durchfuhrung des Berufsvorbereitungsjahres, p. 3.

- giving the framework for duration, content, and objectives of the course

- paying the course fees of participants

- paying an allowance to participants

- paying room and board of participants in case of boarding school-type arrangements

- paying subsidies to non-profit organizations for the equipment of training shops.

All other matters, such as the development of curricula, the hiring and firing of personnel, and the selection of appropriate teaching methods, are left to the institutions that have contracted for the course.

The degree of continuity of the cooperation between the Federal Bureau of Labor and the institutions that organize the course may vary considerably. On the one hand, there are contracts covering periods up to a duration of five years that enable the organizers of the course to plan ahead, develop teaching material, hire qualified personnel, and gain a sufficient amount of experience for an improvement of the course over the years. On the other hand, in many instances potential organizers of courses are invited to submit bids for courses on a short-term basis. Here, personnel are hired for the duration of a course only. Adequate preparation of teaching material and lesson plans, in-service training, and long-term professionalization of personnel are impossible.

The annual reports on the courses by the Federal Bureau of Labor differentiate between different types of institutions that organize courses:

- Lander and Community administrations.

- Business enterprises or organizations of businesses.

- Welfare and social work organizations.

Participation of business organizations and enterprises is particularly high in Type G courses where they hold a share of 50 percent.[31] For them, offering Type G courses appears profitable for several reasons: The enterprise can use otherwise vacant training facilities and employ its training personnel while the Federal Bureau of Labor bears the costs. As course content is only vaguely defined by the Bureau, the enterprise may develop courses of skill training that meet its very specific requirements. There is no obligation to hire any of the course participants, but it is up to management to select those youth

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31. Berufsvorbereitende Massnahmen, Ergebnisse Im Berichtsjahr, 1975-76, p. 373.

whose ability, skills, attitudes, and discipline best meet the enterprise's needs and expectations. On the other hand, participants' interests may be well served because personnel in these enterprises are generally experienced in vocational training, proper equipment is available, and there is the prospect of further training or employment within the enterprise to enhance the participants' motivation (though for a large share of participants, this expectation will be frustrated).

Welfare and social work organizations hold a particularly large share of Type F and Type V courses, as these organizations claim authority for the education of underprivileged and handicapped youth. The non-profit status of these organizations accords them the freedom to design the course in accordance with the needs of participants. But long-term planning is hampered by the short-term financing offered by the Bureau of Labor. Since competitive costs and high rates of placement of graduates into jobs or apprenticeships are criteria for continued financing by the Bureau, organizers are induced to stress training of skills that meet the immediate requirements of prospective employers.

The objective of the Federal Bureau of Labor of getting school leavers off the unemployment rolls holds for vocational preparation conducted both by enterprises and by welfare organizations. The rate of placement constitutes the prime assessment criterion rather than the quality of vocational training. The financing procedure of the Bureau is the mechanism that limits the scope of training and promotes strategies of short-term job placement. For the courses established by the Lander departments of education, there are no comparable limiting mechanisms. Expenditures for courses of vocational preparation or basic education for school leavers without apprenticeship are financed through the education budgets of the Lander. Economic recession has led generally to cutbacks in the growth rate of expenditures for education, and the educational system is suffering from specific teacher shortages--particularly in vocational education--in face of high overall teacher unemployment. There are limitations to the scale at which courses of vocational training can be established and supplied with buildings, equipment, and personnel. But once established, continuity of financing of the course is not the problem.

4. Criteria For Making Assessments

Establishing criteria for assessing the outcomes of courses of vocational preparation requires a discussion of possible functions of these courses. It has been shown how the objectives of the courses have undergone modifications as a consequence of changes in the courses' environment, particularly the shortage of apprenticeships and growing youth unemployment.[32] In order to develop appropriate criteria for assessment, consensus has to be established on the problems these courses can solve and on the objectives that are to be met.

The courses can reduce learning difficulties, improve attitudes, and provide the participants with basic vocational skills. The courses do not--to any considerable extent--increase the number of jobs and apprenticeships. Thus, the courses can improve the competitive status of participants who will now be able to displace other applicants. The courses of vocational preparation can be measures that lead school leavers to the fulfillment of formal content requirements for entering vocational training. They can be measures to facilitate the participants' transition from school to apprenticeships and job, if apprenticeships and jobs are available. They are not measures that can reduce unemployment, though this claim was frequently made for them.

An appraisal of the appropriateness of objectives of the courses of vocational preparation has to be linked to the implications of legal provisions, political consensus, and scientific insight in the functioning of the educational and occupational systems: The Industrial Training Act and the laws of the Lander on compulsory education define the status of school leavers up to the age of 18 as clients not so much of the labor market as of the system of vocational education. The completion of

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32. In addition to the shift in official objectives, the courses have had to contribute to a variety of political and labor market strategies designed to relieve some of the consequences of what in public discussion was perceived as a socioeconomic crisis:

    - The courses were to get young unemployed persons off the streets and off the unemployment statistics.
    - The courses were to provide an alarmed public with the impression that something was being done.
    - The courses were to preserve the morale of unemployed youths during a longer period of unemployment.
    - The courses were to channel and keep under control the reduction of educational and occupational aspirations of young people in accordance with labor market and apprenticeship realities.

    It is obvious that assessment of the measures cannot be simply related to these and similar functions that the courses have assumed in the current crisis. Neither can it simply be related to the officially-stated objectives because of the various changes that these objectives have undergone as a consequence of that crisis.

vocational training in a school or in an apprenticeship is considered the rule, and unskilled work is to be the exception. There is a political consensus that all school leavers should be induced to participate in vocational training up to the minimum levels that are stated in the Industrial Training Act. It is a common belief of educators and social scientists that vocational training, in accordance with the provisions of the Industrial Training Act, constitutes merely the minimum preparation for working life. Vocational preparation below the level of completion of vocational training implies substandard educational, occupational, and social status.[33]

The original objective of courses of vocational preparation--compensatory preparation for vocational training in accordance with the Industrial Training Act (except for a clearly-defined group of youth with severe handicaps)--is consistent with both the problem and the social consensus on objectives. Any modification of this objective toward preparation of unspecified groups of youth for unskilled or semiskilled work is by the same criteria inappropriate.

With the original objectives in mind, a number of guidelines for assessment can be formulated:

(1) If vocational preparation for subsequent vocational training is the main objective of the course (and not preparation for unskilled work below the formalized training level), the success of the course is to be measured by the number of its graduates who complete vocational training.

> In fact, the majority of courses do not have this objective, but rather seek to prepare young people for both vocational training and unskilled work or unskilled work exclusively. The Type F course of the Federal Bureau of Labor alone is dedicated to the indicated purpose. In spite of its objective though, the percentage of its graduates entering vocational training was reduced from 70 percent in 1971-72 to 50 percent in 1975-76.

(2) Vocational preparation for an eventual educational attainment below that required for skilled labor must be limited to those young persons who will be unable to complete vocational training because of handicaps that can be clearly identified.

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33. For example, the completion of vocational training is a prerequisite for eligibility for financial support by the Federal Bureau of Labor for certain types of further education, for within-company promotions, for eligibility of certain types of compensation in social security insurance, etc.

Most courses do not meet this requirement. While preparation for unskilled work is stated as one of their objectives, they are at the same time intended for a group of participants that is extremely heterogeneous. Only the Type V course of the Federal Bureau of Labor and the basic vocational training course for school leavers with learning handicaps in Rheinland-Pfalz are explicitly designed for this target group.

(3) Selection for participation in the course must be in accordance with its objectives. Preparation for vocational training is of no use to those who are already sufficiently prepared. Because selection for certain types of courses implies exclusion from subsequent vocational training, the quality of diagnosis is critical.

Most courses established after the rise of unemployment were designed for multiple purposes and multiple target groups. Where target groups were not defined, appropriate criteria for selection could not be established. As a result, participants who are adequately prepared for vocational training can be found in most courses.

Even where the needs of specific target groups were to be met, selection of these target groups was not reliable. According to a survey by the Bavarian Staatsinstitut fur Schulpadagogik among participants of the basic vocational training course for school leavers "who do not aspire to vocational training," 90 percent reported that they had originally applied for apprenticeships, and 65 percent reported that after completion of the course, they wanted to enter vocational training. Obviously, not getting, rather than not wanting, an apprenticeship had been the criteria for their selection for the course.[34]

According to the Federal Bureau of Labor, in 1976 approximately 20 percent of the graduates of the Type V course "for school leavers who presumably will not be able to meet the requirements of vocational training" entered such vocational training.[35] Clearly, the diagnostic instruments

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34. Cf. Dirnstorfer, Zusammenfassung, p. 1.

35. Berufsvorbereitende Massnahmen, Ergebnisse Im Berichtsjahr, 1975-76, p. 378.

available do not permit predictions that are sufficiently reliable to justify the exclusion from vocational training.

(4) The courses must be positioned within the educational system in such a fashion that negative effects on other institutions of that system are avoided.

The introduction of courses of vocational preparation as such takes for granted a generation of failure and neglect of vocational preparation in the secondary schools. Existing pressure to improve the secondary schools in both these respects is thereby reduced.[36] Beyond the prevention of reform in the secondary schools, the rapid expansion of courses of vocational preparation may indirectly increase the problems that they are claimed to solve by contributing to the cutback of apprenticeships. The growing number of graduates from courses of vocational preparation is likely to reduce the enterprises' motivation to engage in the training of apprentices. As the quality of graduates of the courses improves and the training becomes more effective, enterprises can select applicants for semi-skilled jobs from a growing supply of young people who have acquired basic vocational skills and work attitudes and need only a little additional on-the-job training. Increasingly, vocational preparation plus on-the-job training according to the specific needs of the enterprise and in circumvention of the provisions of the Industrial Training Act is replacing regular vocational trainin apprenticeships.[37] There is evidence that a large number of enterprises have cut down apprenticeship training to a considerable extent in order to then utilize vacant training facilities for courses of vocational preparation financed by the Federal Bureau of Labor. Finally, by absorbing school leavers who are unprovided for, the courses of vocational preparation take the pressure off the authorities who are in charge of vocational training to provide for a sufficient number of training opportunities.

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36. The Federal Bureau of Labor seems aware of that problem. It considers vocational preparation a task of the schools of general education. Its intent is to fill the gap until the school system takes up its task. Cf. Berufsvorbereitende Massnahmen Als Hilfe, p. 1285.

37. Braun/Drexel, pp. 31-35.

(5) Costs of training in courses of vocational preparation need to be compared to alternative measures. While--within certain limits--costs must not be the justification for excluding certain groups from vocational preparation, other measures may be more efficient.

As courses of vocational preparation have frequently become substitutes for regular vocational training, comparing costs of vocational preparation with costs of vocational training appears appropriate. In 1976, the director of the Department of Vocational Guidance of the Federal Bureau of Labor estimated that the Bureau's expenditures for each participant in a course of vocational preparation were somewhere between DM 10,000 and 11,000.[38] Costs for basic education courses of the Lander were (in 1975) DM 3,400 per participant,[39] and annual costs in full-time vocational schools (Berufsfachschulen) were approximately DM 10,000 per participant.[40]

For vocational training in apprenticeships, costs reported by the enterprises range from net profits gained through productive work of the apprentices to net costs up to DM 30,000 annually.[41]

5. Data

The Federal Bureau of Labor publishes an annual report on the results of the courses of vocational preparation. This report contains data on the following aspects of the courses:

- Definitions of objectives and target groups of the different course types.

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[38] Cf. Meisel, p. 9. This includes course fees plus allowance for participants plus (for a limited number of participants) room and board in boarding school-type arrangements. The figures do not include subsidies paid for building up training shops as these are frequently used for other purposes as well.

[39] Bund-Lander-Kommission, p. 15. In the data, there is no differentiation between the regular course of basic vocational training and the special courses of basic vocational training for school leavers without apprenticeship.

[40] Bund-Lander-Kommission, p. 18.

[41] Sachverstandigenkommission Kosten Und Finanzierung Der Beruflichen, Bildung.

- Number of courses established for the different course types.
- Number and sex of participants by course type.
- Number and sex of participants by course type who enter apprenticeships and vocations of those apprenticeships.
- Number and sex of participants by course type who enter full-time vocational schooling.
- Number and sex of participants by course type who take up employment.
- Number and sex of participants by course type who continue within the same course.
- Number and sex of participants by course type who enter a different course of vocational preparation.
- Number and sex of dropouts by course type.
- Number and sex of participants by course type who have not been placed.
- Number and sex of participants by course type in the category "other or unknown placement."
- Number of courses organized by the various types of organizations by course type and by Lander.[42]

The report does not contain data on participants that are needed to assess the appropriateness of course participation, including

- type of secondary school previously attended
- quality of certificate obtained
- results of measurement and diagnosis in reference to handicaps, learning disabilities, etc.

The latter data are available in the guidance files of participants in Type F and Type V courses, but similar data for Type G participants are incomplete or non-existent. Obviously, the collection and publication of such data would be apt to uncover the unsuitable coverage of these courses. The data recorded for participants in Type F and Type V courses show that the largest portion of them are from the intended target group but that between 30 and 50 percent are misplaced:

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[42] Cf. Berufsvorbereitende Massnahmen, Ergebnisse Im Berichtsjahr, pp. 287-299.

Characteristics of participants	Type of course		
	F	V	G3
	(Percent in each course by characteristic)		
Graduate of Sonderschule	37.7%	59.5%	6.5%
Hauptschule including certificate	21.3	4.3	6.8
Hauptschule without certificate	32.6	28.5	10.8
Other school	3.1	5.0	2.2
No data on previous school	5.2	2.7	70.2
Learning difficulty	31.8	59.2	6.1
Other handicap	11.6	9.2	

Source: Unofficial aggregation from the files of individual participants.

In 1977, the Institut fur Arbeitsmarkt-und Berufsforschung, the research branch of the Federal Bureau of Labor, initiated a representative study of assessment of the courses of vocational preparation financed by the Bureau which should provide the data on participants needed for this purpose. To determine the previous educational career of the participant, information is being assembled on

- the secondary school or Sonderschule attended
- the type of certificate obtained
- the type of vocational preparation or training obtained prior to entering the course
- the type of previous employment.

To determine the previous educational career of the participant, information is being assembled on

- number of siblings
- completion of vocational training by father

- occupational status of father
- employment (or periods of unemployment) of father
- employment of mother
- completion of vocational training by mother
- educational and occupational aspirations that parents had for the participants.

To assess the previous educational and occupational aspirations of the participant, information is being assembled on

- occupational plans at the time of completion of secondary school
- actions taken by the participant to find a job or apprenticeship.[43]

Information on the content and methods of the courses is not contained in the annual report of the Federal Bureau of Labor. Organizers of the courses have been rather reluctant to admit outside researchers into their courses. Up to this date, self-reports of organizers constitute the only source available on course procedures. Consequently, most of these reports emphasize the difficulty of the tasks to be fulfilled and the efficiency and appropriateness of the methods applied. Even when teachers in the course are highly critical of objectives and procedures, there is only a small likelihood that the self-report will give a realistic picture of the course:

> At that time, labour market conditions for all teachers in the course were extremely unfavourable...and everybody was extremely interested in being able to work in a further course....This implied emphasising the success of the previous work..., quite a perverse situation as all teachers knew very well that this success was very dubious...[44]

Thus, high unemployment of teachers and social workers, a high rate of competition for jobs in this field, and competition among organizing institutions for courses makes the largest number of sources on procedures in the courses unsuitable for assessment purposes. For the same reason, organizing institutions will continue their resistance against on-site evaluation by independent researchers.

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[43] Erhebungsbogen Zur Untersuchung, Questions 1-32.

[44] Hanesch, Single, p. 76.

Again, it can be hoped the study of the Institut fur Arbeitsmarkt-und Berufsforschung will shed some light on this aspect to the extent participants can provide such information. The questionnaire contains questions referring to

- persons or institutions suggesting participation in the course
- reasons for dropping out of the course
- vocational areas covered by the course
- duration of training within one area
- areas of general education covered by the course
- part-time attendance in vocational school
- shares of theoretical and practical instruction
- size of learning groups
- general appraisal of quality of instruction
- appraisal of peer relationships in the course
- participation in internships in enterprises organized by the course
- participation in leisure activities
- involvement of social workers
- examinations that had to be completed
- certificates of participation or report cards that were obtained
- possibility to obtain the Hauptschul certificate.[45]

The educational and occupational careers of participants after completing the course certainly constitute the most important information for assessment as placement in vocational training or employment are the courses' more prominent objectives. Rates of placement are not exclusively dependent on the quality of training within the course. Other variables appear to be equally important, such as conditions in the regional labor market, quality of the regional system of vocational schooling, quantity and quality of apprenticeships available in the area, connections of organizers of the course to local business organizations and enterprises, and quality of the efforts of the local vocational guidance department of the Bureau of Labor for placement of course graduates.

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[45] Erhebungsbogen Zur Untersuchung, Questions 34-66.

Beyond the rates of placement in jobs, apprenticeships, and vocational schools, the annual report of the Federal Bureau of Labor indicates the vocations in which graduates have been placed.[46] This information is important because the quality of training differs considerably among vocations.[47] Vocational training has expanded incrementally over the last five years, particularly in those vocations where opportunities for future employment are poor.[48]

The definition of target groups for vocational preparation further suggests that completion of, rather than just placement in, an apprenticeship should be the criterion of success. With these target groups, dropout rates should be expected to be high. This appears to be particularly true at a time when many enterprises have made it their policy to hire more apprentices than they actually need and to use the probationary period of three months' maximum duration as a period for selecting the final candidates.

The study by the Institut fur Arbeitsmarkt-und Berufsforschung covers a representative sample of graduates of the 1974-75 courses. The interviews took place in the Fall of 1977. By that time, participants had been out of the course for one or two years, respectively. For those who had entered an apprenticeship, either one or two years are sufficiently long to cover the critical period of probation. The period is not long enough though, for the young person to complete an apprenticeship of three years. It is also not long enough for those who entered basic vocational training to have then continued their training in an apprenticeship. These difficulties indicate that, on the one hand, a period of about three years is necessary between the termination of the course and the evaluation of outcomes measured by completion of vocational training. On the other hand, three years would be too long a period to lapse before an evaluation of this type of measure should be undertaken considering the fast rate of change that affects the circumstances that surround the measure.

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46. Overall, the rates of placement in apprenticeships have declined. Placement rates for Type V and Types G2 and G3 courses in particular are so low that in 1976 the Bureau stopped publishing tables that include time-series for all courses. Cf. Berufsvorbereitende Massnahmen, Ergebnisse Im Berichtsjahr, 1974-75, p. 419.

47. Cf. Sachverstandigenkommission Kosten Und Finanzierung Der Bildung.

48. Baethke, *et al.*, p. 14.

This difficulty is partly solved by the study's attempt to obtain an appraisal of the courses' value for vocational training and employment from the former participants, as well as from the participants' employers. Participants are asked to

- describe placement efforts by the offices of the Bureau of Labor
- describe their own efforts
- describe the enterprise where they are being trained or employed (size, branch)
- identify the vocation of their apprenticeship or describe their job
- appraise the worth of the training received at the course for choosing a vocation, obtaining an apprenticeship or job, or meeting apprenticeship or job requirements
- report their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their current occupation.[49]

The enterprises' representatives are to

- report their general experiences with graduates of courses of vocational preparation
- describe the enterprise (size, branch, etc.)
- identify the vocation of the participant's apprenticeship or describe the participant's occupation
- assess the participant's chances of completing vocational training
- assess the value of vocational preparation for completion of vocational training
- establish the types of skills, knowledge, experience, or training required for the position held by the participant
- evaluate the participant's competence in comparison to other young workers
- assess the worth of certificates issued by the course.[50]

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[49] Erhebungsbogen Zur Untersuchung, Questions 68-110.

[50] Ibid., Part II, Questions 1-28.

A comparison of the data produced by the annual report of the Federal Bureau of Labor and the data that may be expected from the study of the Institut fur Arbeitsmarkt-und Berufsforschung yields two major conclusions. First, the data in the annual report are generated by the administration of the courses. The annual compilation makes comparisons between years possible. With little more effort, other data valid for the assessment of the courses could be included.[51] For example, there are needs for:

- data that provide a better description of participants (previous education, occupational aspirations, social background, and diagnosis of handicap)
- data that provide a better description of the courses (duration of course, types and numbers of vocational areas covered by courses, class sizes, and qualification of personnel).

Second, it is commonplace in educational measurement that outcomes of learning show not so much in a single testing situation, but in the way the individual over a period of time is able to master situations and meet the requirements of the tasks for which his study supposedly prepared him. In this respect, the usefulness of the data generated by the study of the Institut fur Arbeitsmarkt-und Berufsforschung is obvious, as it follows up on the participants' further careers. On the other hand, follow-up studies of this type are costly and lengthy and therefore unfit for frequent repetition. In addition, the data from this study may be appropriate for an assessment of the courses as they functioned in the years 1974-76 and the educational and occupational careers of graduates in the following years. The data cannot serve for a description of the changes the courses have undergone from 1968 to 1978 in response to changing requirements of the educational, economic, and political systems. Therefore, the annual report on the courses, in addition to including more descriptive administrative data on courses and participants, should be combined with a follow-up study of graduates of previous years. For this purpose, the current study of the Institut fur Arbeitsmarkt-und Berufsforschung may serve as a pilot study providing basic information for designing a survey that is more limited in scale and intention.

The efforts of the Federal Bureau of Labor are by no means equaled by related efforts of the Lander departments of education. An inquiry into the availability of data on courses, participants, and further careers of graduates brought primarily negative results. Most Lander have developed or are about to develop detailed curricula for the courses, but there is no information on the extent to which these curricula are being implemented. There are a few case studies on procedures in the courses, but they do not contain recent data.[52] There is no information on the participants' educational background[53] and educational and occupational aspirations,[54] and there are no data on the graduates and their further educational careers.[55] While the Bureau of Labor obviously needs to justify expenditures for vocational preparation by documenting outcomes, there appears to be no similar pressure on Lander departments of education. For them, the provision of schooling opportunities, curricula, and teachers is a routine function that does not require further justification. Accounting for the outcomes of schooling has not yet been established as a task of educational bureaucracies.

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[51] It would require further investigations to determine the causes for the exclusion of such data in the annual reports. It may be suggested, though, that considering the declining rates of placement in apprenticeships, time-series data that might show an increasing quality of the participants' educational background might make the justification of these courses quite difficult.

6. Foundations Of Assessment And Alternatives

Up to this point, courses of vocational preparation, their target groups, their objectives, and their outcomes have been discussed primarily in terms of the structure of the educational system, particularly with respect to their connection to the system of secondary general schooling and the "dual system" of vocational training. The failure to adequately complete secondary education at the minimum level--defined as the failure to obtain the Hauptschul certificate--was described as a prerequisite for the need to enter a course of vocational preparation that facilitates further vocational training.

This approach has served as a pragmatic solution to the problem of defining criteria of vocational maturity at a general level and constructing diagnostic instruments in accordance with these criteria. In a review of research literature (primarily American) on the definition and the measurement of vocational maturity, Hagmoller, et al. observe severe limitations to the applicability of foreign concepts and measurement instruments. There is an insufficient state of knowledge about the concept of vocational maturity and its application to the design of diagnostic instruments, the implementation of vocational guidance, and curriculum construction.[56] Clearly, there is at present no research basis for designing a diagnostic instrument that will cover the entrance requirements of vocational training in a fashion comparable to school entrance tests for preschool children. This is true in spite of a comparatively high rate of formalization in the "dual system" of vocational training.[57]

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[52] Cf. Zickgraf, et al., pp. 205-237; cf. also Biermann, et al.

[53] Again, the case studies by Zickgraf, et al. are one exception, though data are not reported in a systematic fashion.

[54] The study by Dirnstorfer has already been quoted as an exception. It showed that 70 percent to 90 percent were not from the intended target group.

[55] Here again the case study by Zickgraf, et al. stands as an example of a small number of non-representative case studies.

Without instruments that validly and reliably identify school leavers in need of vocational preparation, it is difficult to measure the success of such courses. Entering and completing vocational training as measures of success have come to substitute for measures of the effectiveness of vocational preparation. The former measures are valid to answer the question of whether graduates of the course have succeeded in reaching stages of training that are decisive in the system of vocational certification. They do not assess the contribution of the course of vocational preparation to that success.

Given the difficulties of constructing a concept of vocational maturity, it is hardly surprising that there are no satisfactory models for the vocational preparation of the "vocationally immature." Curricula of courses of vocational preparation consist of elements of remedial work in basic cultural techniques and elements of skill training taken from the first phases of vocational training. Any measurement instrument of the outcomes of vocational preparation would therefore have to measure mastery of requirements of general education in the secondary schools and of vocational training as it is conducted in an apprenticeship.

This brings up the question of the necessity of vocational preparation. Here the argument is that it is the combination of elements from general and vocational education that provides potential dropouts with the motivation to strive for vocational training. But then, this is the method that enterprises frequently used in vocational training (not preparation) up to the early 1970's when applicants for apprenticeships were scarce. At that time, enterprises showed that through vocational training it was possible to improve the apprentices' overall mastery of tasks both on the theoretical and the technical skill level in accordance with the requirements of that training. It may be that the integration of vocational maturity and vocational competence that was practiced at that time may more closely agree with the effective, psycho-motor, and intellectual development of individuals and the requirements of vocational training than the separation of maturity and competence realized in courses of vocational preparation.

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[56] Hagmoller, et al., p. 164.

[57] While the state of knowledge on what constitutes vocational maturity should prohibit the application of the concept, it has become a term of great importance for educational policy. Lack of vocational maturity is to explain most of the difficulties that school leavers experience in the transition from school to work, and vocational preparation is suggested as the cure. Cf. Massnahmen Zum Abbau, p. 1.; Dannemann, p. 15.

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NEW EDUCATION-WORK MODELS: THEORIES AND DATA IN THE ITALIAN CASE

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Introduction

Italy is a country with the unenviable record of having one of the highest proportions of young people finding it difficult to obtain work. In January 1978, out of 1,500,000 persons seeking a first job, 75.2 percent were between the ages of 14 and 29. This problem has existed in Italy for some 10 years, notably longer than in the other European countries,

This has not, however, prevented discussion of the unemployment of youth from remaining primarily tied to a "denunciation" of the problem. It is, in fact, only recently that the prospect of government intervention has been posed in a practical sense with proposals for actions.

It must, however, be borne in mind that attention to this problem has been mainly within the framework of labor policy, rather than from the aspect of a strategy of transition which takes into account the implications of the interventions from three points of view:

- that of the productive economic system and labor demand;
- that of the educational institutions; and
- that of social policies, the redistribution of time, and the availability of opportunities throughout an individual's life.

In particular, both schools and business enterprises have shown and continue to show a profound detachment, the former closed in a theoretical culture (non-manual and not very technical-scientific), and the latter occupied in defending its productive requirements (at times, even anti-youth).

But there is a growing propensity, especially on the part of youth and their families, to accept the idea of greater integration between the two spheres (education and work) which reflects (and rationalizes) the forced adaptation of youth to the new conditions of the labor market.

It is enough to recall, by way of example, that in fact a notable number of young persons still undergoing education in Italy also work. Thirty-five percent of secondary school pupils are employed (mainly in temporary jobs)[1] and 30 percent of university students have some employment.

Young people themselves show an increasing propensity for mixed forms of study and work:

- 45.4 percent of the university students interviewed in a survey carried out in 1975 said that they would be interested, if the opportunity arose, in working and studying at the same time and 15 percent would opt for full-time jobs, whereas only about a third felt themselves to be and wished to remain "pure students."
- Young diploma holders from secondary technical schools judged integration into the curriculum of practical work experiences as follows:

	Fully in favor	Partly in favor
Active working experience linked with studies	80.6%	15.3%
Working experiences not necessarily at vocational level	36.1	3'.5

- Furthermore, 90 percent of a national sample of employed persons of all ages appeared to favor the proposition of "enriching the education of the young with manual work experience even at the highest educational level.[2]

As can be seen, the number of favorable options is very high.[3]

This "social demand" for greater integration between education and work, up to the present, has only been met by a fragmentary and lukewarm response at the institutional level; consequently, it is not easy to provide an analysis of models nor to evaluate results in such a context.

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1. "Indagine speciale sui diplomati," Bulletino mensile di Statistica, supplement no. 8. Rome: ISTAT, 1975.

2. Censis, "L'assegno di studio e il problemi attuali del diritto allo studio all'universita," Rome, 1975.

3. Censis, "Diploma universita, occupazione," Rome, 1978.

This does not mean there are no answers, but rather that it is a matter of a mass of unconnected initiatives outside any explicit strategy. Approaches, users, and instruments are sometimes quite different, and at other times, overlapping.

For this reason, it would be useful to provide a summary of the various experiments, giving the objectives, content, levels of implementation, and the differing normative bases.

The interventions enclosed in brackets are regarded as being operative for a very long time.

1.	EEC pilot projects	These are at the starting phase, but they are important because they tackle explicitly the problem of transition. There is no specific normative reference (other than ministerial circulars).
2.	Youth/FSE	A cycle of complete experimentation has been carried out and the evaluation made. There is no specific normative reference (other than ministerial circulars).
3.	Law of June 19, 1977, No. 285	The first year of application has been completed, with sparse results and no organic evaluation. It is a state law and a decree for its amendment has been prepared.
4.	[Courses of 150 hours]	The fifth year of experimentation has been completed. The courses show limited characteristics of transition from work to education in vocational terms (they are essentially based on cultural orientation). No specific normative reference exists (other than Ministerial circulars). They are the result of leave of absence for education purposes obtained in collective bargaining contracts.
5.	[Reform of secondary education]	Law in course of approval by Parliament. It provides explicitly for forms of generalized training for all pupils in the last year of the course. At least seven to eight years will pass before the first experiments in training will be made (the time necessary for the approval and application of the "reform regime").

6.	[Apprenticeship]	Law of the state since 1949, its defects are widely recognized. New ways are being sought through the educational contracts of Law 285 and/or new forms of revaluation of apprenticeship.
7.	[Student workers]	This is the most elementary "model," which merely applies the law giving workers the right to paid leave of absence in order to take examinations in state schools.

To conclude, the forms of intervention:

- are in an initial phase (EEC Pilot Projects and Law 285) and therefore have no evaluation apparatus either prepared or tested, except for youth/FSE
- do not necessarily lead to employment, since they aim rather at the "cultural change" of the persons involved, and only subordinately at a better adjustment to work (this is true only for certain aspects of Law 285).

This is a panorama more of prospects than of consolidation; we are at the level of experiments barely started or being planned, indicative above all of a new trend in the handling of the problems of the transition of young people between school and work.

I. The Pilot Projects Elaborated by the European Economic Community

The premises

The Council and the ministers of education of the EEC countries passed a resolution on December 13, 1976 concerning a series of measures aimed at improving the preparation of youth for work and facilitating their passage from study to active life.[4]

More exactly--on the basis of a specific report--an examination was made of the complex of problems about the school/work transition of the youth of the various member countries. The decision was made, among others, to implement pilot projects aimed at supplying the bases for development and evaluation of national policies with the following priorities:

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[4] Resolution of the Council of the EEC, point III, p. 10, in supplement to the Bulletin of the EEC.

a. the education and training needs of youth who after leaving formal education have difficulty finding and keeping a job which gives them satisfaction and the possibility of self-realization;

b. problems arising from the lack of motivation of many young people as regards education and work and the measures that can be adopted to provoke interest and participation;

c. the elaboration of specific interventions aimed at:

- guaranteeing equal access to education
- assisting young immigrants
- promoting actions on behalf of specific groups which present particular problems, such as physically and mentally handicapped young people;

d. getting underway a continuous process of educational and vocational orientation centered mainly on the times of decisive choices, which cover the last years of the period of non-compulsory education. Particular care will be given to cooperation between those responsible for teaching, orientation, training, and placing in employment;

e. improvement in the vocational preparation for work in the last years of compulsory schooling and during the period of non-compulsory education, in particular through cooperation between the education and labor sections; and

f. promotion of measures aimed at improving the initial and permanent training of teachers, in order that they can better prepare youth for active life.

The indications contained in the EEC resolution were subsequently accepted by the individual member states[5] who, in collaboration with the community organs, have proceeded to gather together the "lines" of action proposed which in themselves touch on very different aspects of the theme of transition, and to promote, collect, and coordinate proposals for experimentation coming from the local level.

It is for these reasons that it is worthwhile to return for the Italian case to the interventions proposed at the national level, which have formed the basis for the sub-projects at the local level. They can fundamentally be grouped into four project models.

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[5] "Degli studi alla vita attiva" (From Study to Active Life), European Communities, 1976, n. 12.

1. Projects for action in the field of information and orientation to vocational education and the link between the school and the world of work, within the sphere of the educational administrative district (school/world of work in the district);

2. Projects for integration of educational activities with work activities in the curricula for young workers and students and for adapting unemployed diploma holders to the needs of the labor market (alternation and transition);

3. Research and training projects for the preparation of teachers in technical education (teachers in technical fields); and

4. Projects for cultural orientation of young people regarding the need for vocational skills and continuing in school, and for initial employment of youth without any educational qualifications and who have abandoned school (motivational action and professional insertion).

Both of the first two proposals are integration projects in the sense that they represent a combination of one or two sub-projects, each of which could be developed separately, whenever exigencies of local finance or organization make this limitation preferable. Moreover, the integrated projects pursue results at a higher level than that of the individual parts due to the synergy and collective mobilization which they attempt to achieve.

Project No. 1: School/World of Work in the District

The absence of a link between the school and the world of work has, essentially, two components:

- a structural component, which is rooted in the inflexible system of study and therefore not adaptable to the manifold and variable exigencies of the working world

- subjective component, arising from the recognized difficulties that young people encounter in making educational and professional choices in a situation of notable overall uncertainty.

A program of educational and professional orientation, even if it can do little to solve the structural imperfections, can, however, make a contribution to reducing the difficulties arising from the "subjective" component. This component originates from:

1. The type of education that is given, which does little to develop aptitudes and individual propensities on the part of students;

2. The value that an educational qualification (school leaving certificates, diplomas, degrees) has in times of chronic high unemployment. Although these qualifications may no longer be sufficient to obtain specific levels of employment, they are nevertheless a minimum or necessary element to maintain a level equal to others;

3. The general uncertainty and lack of forecasting about the absorption of manpower in different sectors of employment;

4. The precariousness in a crisis situation of less protected activities or sectors, with the tendency to fall back on public employment; and

5. The lack of information concerning working conditions and characteristics of the various professions.

In the School/World of Work projects, initiatives at the district level (or at the level of two or three districts) are designed to provide:

a. information and orientation for students, their families, and teachers, about the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the labor market and the economic structures at the local level;

b. information and orientation about education--toward all the existing scholastic and extra-scholastic structures;

c. guidance and evaluation services concerning the passage from secondary school to university;

d. training courses for teachers in the light of the revaluation of productive work in schools and of career education (i.e., the capacity of stimulating motivation towards learning through the application of training in real working activities);

e. information and stimulation of awareness in parents about stereotypes concerning the value attributed to an educational qualification; and

f. links between educational institutions, firms, and other working environments (such as public administrations and the social services), via training courses, professional or vocational consultancy, visits by schools in the district, etc.

Three levels of organization have been proposed:

1. a region that operates an information system on the demand and supply of employment for youth (Regional Observatory on the Labour Market);

2. a district council or a number of neighboring district councils situated within the region responsible for the observatory whose task is to program the guidance and orientation activities and to establish suitable links among the various organizations working in the territory; and

3. an organization responsible for the management of the service at the district level. This organization should have the following characteristics:

    - a consolidated experience with educational and professional orientation

    - capability to develop experiments of guidance and orientation (e.g., to offer a plurality of services involving people operating in the district.

    - availability to manage the guidance and orientation activity on the basis of the program established by the district council and in the light of the information needs of the region.

The true and proper orientation activity can be divided into two major groups, the first of which is concerned with the motivational, aptitude, and psychological aspects, and the second with the labor-oriented aspects (training and information about the working world) and with information on the educational, training, and cultural opportunities existing in the territory.

On the basis of these experimental activities and the processing of the information collected, the following initiatives will be organized:

- training activity for the teachers through meetings and courses in the various schools in order to encourage knowledge of the working world and its principal productive sectors to clarify the vast complex of problems relating to work, the environment, the man-task-environment relationship and the organization of work; to achieve, above all, a variation in didactic methods by opening new prospects and making original demands; and lastly, to formulate hypotheses for interdisciplinary work, considering that education about the working environment leads to knowledge of the phenomenon in all its aspects, and even its historical genesis.

The objective of this activity is to train the teachers to provide information about various trades and to better train the pupils in the various aspects and problems of the working world.

- specific activity with the pupils in meetings, conferences, or seminars in the school and outside. Both local education officials and other persons who can supply first-hand information will take part in the meetings. At some of these meetings, the parents of the pupils will also be present. In the case of the parents in the most difficult circumstances, it will be necessary to organize personal talks. The information about the working world will be integrated with practical activities carried out through visits to firms, industries, and offices.

Particular attention will have to be given to supplying the pupils with the methodological instruments to enable them to carry out self-orientation activities and research about the labor market. Consequently, it is necessary to indicate to the students the sources (statistics, bibliographies) and the places (chambers of commerce, etc.) where they themselves can seek information about professional outlets. They must be instructed in how to carry out a little research on their slightly older school companions, in order to ascertain what kind of choices they have made, what type of difficulties they have encountered, and what successes they have obtained.

The regional labor supply and demand information project will be executed in several phases:

1. hypotheses for research, delineation of the field and sectors of observation, and drawing up of the necessary contracts (cooperation with regional research centers is anticipated);

2. gathering of data (the district councils which do orientation and guidance activities are recommended for gathering data in order to encourage greater integration between research/information and orientation/guidance activities);

3. processing of the data; and

4. distribution of the results of the investigation.

The work of guidance and orientation itself is articulated in four phases:

1. programming the activity on the part of the district council and identification of the persons to be involved in the work;

2. making contacts between the orientation center and forces in the working world operating in the territory; at the same time, all the teachers or instructors will be supplied with information material on orientation and its objectives, proposing further meetings with interested persons;

3. organizing meetings with the teachers who are most motivated and interested in the project about which aspects of youth development and the world of work and labor market will be carried out; and

4. planning activities with students: activities done by teachers which, starting with the training course, must be continuous and carried out during the school year; activities carried out by the orientation center, which is concentrated in the last months of the school year and also (for those who finish secondary school) in the days prior to the beginning of the university academic year.

Project No. 2: Alternation and Transition

This is a particularly complex project inasmuch as it includes, in its turn, no less than four sub-typologies, all nevertheless aimed at achieving integration between education and work, even if starting from different conditions and users. In other words, this project covers all the pigeon holes of the initial synoptic picture.

It is, perhaps, the project which most directly tackles the problem of the transition from school to work, by offering at the same time:

- the opportunity to carry out experiments in practical vocational work among youth in their first educational phase in the secondary schools (sub-project A);

- the opportunity for the training and pre-insertion of youth with very recent diplomas in the search of a first job (sub-project B);

- opportunity for the educational remediation young apprentices (sub-project C); and
- opportunity for the educational remediation of young workers within the framework of paid leave of absence for education (sub-project D).

A brief description of the contents of the individual sub-projects follows.

From the school towards work

- courses at the firm level and contacts with "professionals" in order to draw up good curricula for the last years of the vocational and technical institutes;
- insertion of work activities (not necessarily directed towards a specific qualification) in the cirricula of students in two-year courses and high school as well as in technical institutes; and
- courses for adaptation to the requirements of the working world for unemployed diploma holders.

From work towards education

- apprenticeship with new education bases;
- education-work contracts provided for by the recent law on employment of young people; and
- use of the 150 hours of paid educational leave to acquire higher secondary education.

Sub-project A: Experimental system of alternation between school and work for students at the secondary level.--This aims at bringing about integration between study and practical work through the introduction in the curriculum of work experience in order to bring together as closely as possible the specific and the general working reality and the life of the secondary school pupil. More exactly, it is a matter of achieving a series of sub-objectives which can be summarized:

- to increase the volume of information on working life in a given occupation;
- to provide occasions for contact with specific working experiences, directed to:
  - acquiring the elements of pre-vocational training in the most indirect manner possible; and

- enriching the cultural dimension through contact with a complex socio-technical system, which is the firm;

- to provide occasions for working experiences which may not coincide with students' career directions, in view of their need to accept social responsibility even at this stage of life (to do socially useful services and work inside and outside the school); and

- to arrive at an operational conclusion of the projects (with the production of goods and services), as the end of an educational journey which assumes the need for an evaluation of the results (use of the cultural dimension in the laboratory).

Sub-project B: Short courses for secondary school graduates with programs of insertion in public and private work activities.--A series of interventions will be undertaken which have two main objectives: first, to change the relationship between vocational training and a career outlet, in close dependence, however, on the second which is to assist the entry into work of young people already holding diplomas and in search of a first job.

The ground on which to act is the intermediate one between school and work, seeking a closer connection between these two realities through the development of short courses for diploma holders starting from a study of the work needs of different productive sectors, and the subsequent amendment of the curricula of the last years of secondary school, incorporating linkages with the productive sector.

The first type of intervention (short courses for persons already holding a diploma) arises from the need to eliminate the lacunae and the distortions in the training content of school education in order to give the young diploma holders a real chance of entering the working world.

Sub-project C: Reformed apprenticeship training contract.--This type of intervention--a reorganization of training curricula--carries forward the logic already present in the first type of intervention. It attempts to reduce the fracture between school education and the needs of the productive sectors, and to encourage the emergence of new work models for young people.

Of the EEC countries, Italy possesses the education and training system most separated from the world of productive work. This is one (perhaps the most important) of the causes which makes the problem of intellectual unemployment more acute than elsewhere. This fact is also confirmed by the scarce development and the low technical, cultural, educational, and social level of the apprenticeship system.

There is notable room in Italy for the development of training processes within the work setting as the condition of the labor contract. As illustrations, consider:

- it is difficult to link school education with the trade practiced;
- in many sectors of the economy, there is a shortage of qualified personnel;
- the interests and motivations of youth are not uniform; a large number of them are not motivated to pursue full-time schooling of an academic type; and
- the entry into work of many young people holding diplomas or degrees often requires an initial period of time, apart from the normal adaptation to work, in which instruction must be given on specific points that the school did not give.

The apprenticeship training contract project has the objective of testing new educational formulae within the framework of existing institutions, but applied in a non-traditional way by introducing innovations considered opportune for the purposes of the project and possible within the limitations of the established system.

The specific educational objectives of the project are:

1. to raise the cultural level and the basic training of young workers holding apprenticeship contracts, in order to reduce the growing cultural gap between apprentices and other youth leaving school, and to enable the eventual continuation of studies; and
2. to forge a link between this complementary training of apprentices and educational institutions (via place of course, programs, qualifications).

Some of the young people in this project are workers who take educational courses using the educational permits contained in their labor contracts (the so-called 150 hours). This is a recent development: the training clauses were first inserted into the labor contract in 1973 for the main industries; other industries are being progressively added.

The efforts of the first years were directed to instituting courses for remediation of the education provided in the compulsory schooling period but there have already been experiments at the university level and courses at the secondary school level are being planned.

This project raises the question of the usefulness of re-entry into secondary education for young workers. Certainly their work experience must be taken into account and integrated into the curriculum. While such an undertaking has yet to be worked out, it holds outstanding importance because of the aspect of integration, especially for young secondary school people like those of sub-project A.

Project No. 3: The Training of Teachers of Technical Education

This is perhaps the most internally homogeneous project, being directed to reforming the curricula of the secondary school toward practical capacities and the values of productive work, with manual and technological components.

All this applies in particular to the lower secondary school where the curriculum is designed to include technical education. But it also applies to the higher secondary school where these reforms can be implemented in a generalized way (and not only for certain subjects), with a view to redrawing its "cultural axis."

Apart from these cultural reasons, which themselves have a normative reference, public opinion increasingly is shifting toward a revaluation of manual work, on the one hand, and toward new emphasis on the scientific-technological-active work dimension in the training processes, on the other.

The project has the following objectives:

a. to clarify the changes to be made in the secondary school curriculum within the framework of a new approach to education from the technical standpoing;

b. to indicate the outline of experimental training of the teachers of the old subject "technical applications"; and

c. to start a controlled teaching experiment in some classes of the secondary school.

Programs will be carried out for the lower secondary school and, if possible, the first two years of upper secondary school. Evaluation will be done by mixed committees (having intra-school and extra-school competencies); comparisons will be made to other international experiences.

Project No. 4: Motivation and Entry Into Active Life

The usefulness of interventions in favor of young persons with little motivation for study, and who find it difficult to enter the labor market due to lack of any definite propensities, has its main justification in the danger that the processes of educational dropout will lead to greater and irreversible processes of social dropout.

Already we are witnessing widespread educational irregularities and abandonment of study in the compulsory school cycle and in the first five years of the post-compulsory cycle. Expulsion of young people from the school system, generally followed by deterioration in their socioeconomic and cultural condition, provokes yet further motivation.

The first obstacle is the absolute lack of points of reference for educational and cultural recuperation: the inflexibility of the educational system renders extremely problematical the possibility of any reentry. In general, the school is equipped neither with the instruments nor the structures to follow the destiny of school-leavers, whether they have interrupted their schooling or come to the end of an educational cycle. Furthermore, the link to institutions for vocational training outside the school is almost nonexistent.

Equally dire are the prospects of the youth who enter the labor market in a condition of weakness and who are destined to unstable forms of work, without any opportunity for vocational training. In this case, the encounter with the rigidity of the labor market results in lost motivation for the youth.

From this situation of initial disadvantage, through subsequent bouts with the inadequacy of the institutions linking training and work, a sort of vicious cycle is created, and the possibility of reversing the process of demotivation is reduced even further.

The policy question is one of how to lay down the lines of a social and educational action that today is virtually absent in the education and training environment.

The motivation project aims to identify a responsible body and an operative center capable of concerning itself with the cultural and work qualifications of dropouts and/or unmotivated adolescents, and to aid their entry into the world of work. Part of the project should be devoted to analysis of the various types of phenomena at work and hence to the various types of needs to be met. Up to now, and while awaiting a better knowledge of the problem, action is foreseen mainly directed to the dropouts from the compulsory school cycle. This action would include the task of reaching those incapable of reentering the channels of vocational training and work. It is therefore a question of action in the field of orientation and guidance through a period devoted to guided contact with work and with the various possibilities of vocational training. It aims at a process of remotivation, of a discovery of interests, and at the recapture of basic culture.

The instruments to be used are the following:

- a nucleus of "animators" or leaders (selected on a voluntary basis from among the teachers);
- an attractive living environment (a type of "maison de jeunes");
- centers in which to hold brief courses of orientation and basic vocational training (or for a return to school education); and
- the eventual use, for socio-educational objectives, of a contract for training and work (to enable youth to gain experience in work and financial independence).

The project can be divided into three phases. They are not a chronologically-ordered series of interventions, but rather the successive methods of implementation of the project translated into various organizational solutions.

1st phase: recruitment of the young people and first action of cultural integration and of orientation towards work;

2nd phase: selection and definition of the method of active entry into work; and

3rd phase: control and evaluation of the results.

Criteria of evaluation

Above all, it is necessary to recall that the EEC pilot projects, even if they constitute the first organized attempt to experiment with new forms of transition between school and work, are still in their starting phase. This means that it is too early to evaluate the results.

For Italy, the experiment covers 17 peripheral areas, grouped within the various types of project, namely:

Project 1:	4 sub-projects
Project 2:	7 sub-projects
Project 3:	2 sub-projects
Project 4:	4 sub-projects

The evaluation of the total of the sub-projects within the four main project areas will be the responsibility of an Italian team of some eight persons, working in close collaboration with a central European team.

For the evaluation, the following features are noted:

a. The emphasis will be placed on the context (local, regional, national) within which the experiment is inserted;

b. Particular account will be given to the transferability of the projects;

c. Evaluation activities will be carried out in close connection with (even if clearly distinct from) the operational activities of the project. This is very important for Italy where there is no tradition of "intervention by projects";

d. Emphasis will be given to the instruments for internal evaluation, coordinated by evaluators (questionnaires, interviews, analysis of documents, analysis of organizational processes, evaluation seminars); and

e. Two levels of complementary evaluation will be encouraged: the former connected with the local situation and within the individual project (oriented to the verification of the specific objectives); the latter linked to the dimensions and dissemination of the experiment at national and EEC level.

II. The Youth Project/European Social Fund for the South

Premise

One of the possible forms of transition from school to work for young people is that of the modification of the post-compulsory landscape in such a way as to include periods of training within enterprises similar to the "Alternation and integration" of the EEC Pilot Project described above.

ISFOL (Institute for the Development of Vocational Training of Workers), which comes under the Ministry of Labour, has developed and completed an experiment in the centers for vocational training in Southern Italy (schools under regional responsibility, mainly attended by young persons between 15 and 17 years).

The project, which has involved 100 centers in the South and has been 50 percent financed by the European Social Fund, has been managed by a central group coordinated by the Ministry of Labor and ISFOL. All the Southern regions, the social parties, and the major bodies responsible for vocational training took part.

The main objectives of the project and the results of the first experiment are reported below, based on the ISFOL evaluation report.[6]

Destructuring the two-year cycle of vocational training courses

The first objective was to break out from the school year period (October-June) for the two-year vocational training courses through the introduction of the four following modules:

Module 1: Remediation and vocational preparation
(Duration: 4 to 6 months)

(a) Remediation of the basic skills of compulsory school (correct use of language, mathematics);

(b) Familiarization with the products, the processes, and the technologies of the work world; and

(c) Rationalization of the socioeconomic context and its relationship to the productive sector.

Module 2: Interdisciplinary training for the vocational trainee group
(Duration: 5 to 7 months)

(a) Consolidation of technical knowledge practically related to production processes;

(b) Capacity to apply the technologies of the productive sectors and awareness of their common characteristics; and

(c) First level contact with the problems of the organization of work.

Module 3: Insertion in the productive context and rationalization of technico-scientific and socio-cultural knowledge
(Duration: 6 to 7 months)

(a) First-hand awareness of the productive process and of vocational roles in it; and

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[6] ISFOL, Quaderni di formazione no. 45, November 1977.

(b) Knowledge of behavior in the productive sector and of the organizational and trade union problems existing within work sites.

Module 4: Complementary training
(Duration: 3 to 7 months)

(a) Reexamination of experiences at work and completion of vocational training; and

(b) Cultural equality with the corresponding level of school education.

(Total duration: 20 months or 2,600 hours)

In assessing the results of this part of the project, it has been necessary to ask, as evaluation criteria:

1. Has the organization by modules really been achieved?

2. What duration ought the modules to have had?

3. What degree of independence and autonomy have the modules had with respect to each other (was it possible to apply them as distinct cycles)?

4. What contributions were made by each of the participating groups (ISFOL, Central Working Group, Technical Committees)?

5. What store of material has accumulated, in two years of experience?

The implementation of training by range of qualifications

The second part of the project concerned the range of qualifications of the young. It must be made clear here that the term "range of qualifications" must be understood as the whole of the technical capacities common to a given group of jobs.

In the project, the range of qualifications corresponds first to a basic level of working life, to be achieved through modules 1 and 2 (above), and then to specialization in particular work roles at a second level (modules 3 and 4).

To assess the effectiveness of the experiment, it was necessary to ask as evaluation criteria: (1) within what limits has it been possible to identify the ranges of qualification? (2) what spin-off innovations have been brought about by this method of vocational training?

Alternation between study in vocational training centers and work activity in enterprises

The training undertaken with work (module 3) constituted the fulcrum of the initial project. It was designed to mix, by way of a precise phase of alternation, vocational training with work, in order to oppose the market spiral in which "one job leads to another"; and to rendering permanent the exchange of persons, energies, and cultures between vocational training centers and firms.

The evaluation criteria have included:

1. whether the courses themselves have been effective from both the quantitative and qualitative aspects;
2. what effects they have produced on working skills, motivation, and participation on the part of the students;
3. the degree of commitment of the teachers; and
4. the degree of interest by the firms in the activities connected with vocational training.

Implementation of continuous training for the teachers

Experience with continuous training of teachers has shown the interrelations between the planning, operation, and evaluation activities of the project. It has strengthened these interrelations and enlisted the energies of organizations hitherto absent (e.g., ILO, FIAT).

One particular program may be mentioned--the teacher training program over and above the stage at the company level managed by the Centre for Vocational Training-FIAT of Turin. Two very significant lessons have been learned from this program:

1. Teachers must in the first place concentrate on the cross-weave between cultures by tecnico-cultural paradigms and experience in the enterprise, through direct experience in firms, accompanied by the necessary tecnico-scientific documentation and reflection on project planning; and
2. The task of the teacher in training projects must be more rigorously defined. Today a teacher should continuously be given the responsibility of handling the relationship between science and work, and be involved in the specific themes relating to the enterprise but also always capable of extracting

the general merits. One of the most pressing needs uncovered by this experiment is the need for a long training period for teachers in the firms themselves that will receive the trainees of module 3, assisted at a distance by the various cultural centers (such as ISFOL itself) and directly by the appropriate regional staff.

Inventory and validation of the didactic material

One of the objectives of the experiment was to inventory and validate the best didactic material available within the educational system. The initial intention was to identify this material and make it known in the vocational training sphere, and also to point out the shortcomings in materials that publishers and others might be called upon to overcome.

Bearing in mind that the materials examined (by a committee of experts set up for the purpose) were not all-inclusive but instead represented a limited section (mainly texts on education with a technico-scientific content), it nevertheless seems possible to affirm that:

- the material in circulation is functional for vocational training based more on job requirements than on levels of qualifications;
- conclusions about the usefulness of this material, determined from an experiment intended to restructure the content of basic vocational training, requires further evaluation and validation; and
- the content and the methods of such material have to be viewed on a didactic screen of an interdisciplinary type.

The social management of the activities

In this cycle of experimentation, the management of the project has not functioned well. The project envisaged a central working group (divided into nine committees) and a management committee for every training center. Proof of management failure is given, among other things, by the facts that only 20 percent of the centers have been formally opened, and only 10 percent of those have functioned in some way or other.

General conclusions

The Youth Project/European Social Fund for the South is of particular importance for Italy inasmuch as it is the first experiment in alternation carried out on a wide basis; it is a completed experiment; and it has been subjected to a very strict evaluation (through periodic visits, the organization of an interim and a final conference, and the collection of data and information in a questionnaire of the users).

As ISFOL itself says in its report, the project represents the major and most high-level internal rethinking on the part of the educational system about its training goals, its relationship with firms, its functional shortcomings, and the limits of its social impact.

From this perspective, notwithstanding all the limitations of a centralized and at times oppressive management, with delays in documentation and a lack of assistance given to the centers, it is, in fact, the notable scale and outreach of the project that has made it a cultural factor. Undoubtedly its merits lie in this dimension--the mobilization of energies external to the system and the liberation of the entrepreneurial spirit latent in the administrators.

Truths discovered from the project:

- It is possible to conduct training courses for young people along non-school lines, articulated into flexible modules;
- A strategy of restructuring the obsolete and frayed job requirements profiles into levels or ranges of qualifications is both necessary and practicable; and
- It is possible, even under the most adverse conditions, to organize periods of alternation between school and work within training cycles.

Utilizable products obtained

- A validated scheme of training modules which can be interlaced with the reformed state school and which can also be applied within the cycles envisaged by Law 285 for the training/work contracts;[7]

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[7] Law of June 1, 1977, no. 285, concerning the procedures for the employment of the young.

- Suggestions, to be further investigated, of the levels of qualifications and the content of modular training for some industrial sectors;
- An organized program for the recurrent training of the trainers; and
- An inventory of the didactic materials available in the sector.

Characteristics of the functioning of the educational system that have emerged

- A notable and unexpected innovating spirit among the administrators;
- A lack--to be remedied--of education by scientific paradigms to assist the management of interventions in training for work;
- A certain backwardness in the didactic structures; and
- notable slowness in the elaboration and in the participation of the social forces.

Suggestions in the normative and administrative fields

- The reaffirmation of the necessity for alternation between school and work (widely accepted, contemporaneously, by the legislator);
- The need for flexibility in the expenditure procedures of the Vocational Training Centers;
- The unpostponable need for a deeper and more wide-ranging study of the levels of qualifications to be achieved by training; and
- The need for a non-school learning experience for the teaching staff.

Appendix

Characteristics of Students in the Youth Project European Social Fund for the South

A questionnaire survey of 825 students in experimental courses in the Youth Project indicated that 552 attended a course in the metal-mechanical industry, 198 attended a course in the electro-mechanical industry, and 75 attended a course belonging to other industrial. Their distribution by age, educational qualification, previous work experience, duration of training, and placement is tabulated below (table 1).

III. Law No. 285 of June 1, 1977: Measures for the Employment of the Young

New relations between training and work

It is useful to mention this measure, since it not only encourages the firms to recruit young workers, but also introduces a new formula in the linking of training and work (the training contract.

The aims of the law are summarized in article I:

1. To promote the special employment of young people in agricultural, artisan, trade, industrial, and public service activities undertaken by individual firms, industrial groups, cooperatives and their consortiums, and public economic bodies;
2. To finance regional programs for productive work in socially useful undertakings and services, particularly in agriculture and programs for works and services organized by the central administrations;
3. To encourage young people to work on the land; and
4. To organize vocational training programs directed to meeting the needs of Italy's economic growth.

The achievement of the above-mentioned objectives will be pursued by several means: First, the employment on permanent contracts, by private companies and public organizations, of young persons between the ages of 15 and 29 who are enrolled in special lists and in possession of the required technical qualifications. As incentive, the companies receive a monthly

Table 1. Students by Industry and Age Group.

	Metal-mechanical	Electro-mechanical	Other	Total
Over 17 years	354	134	30	518
Under 17 years	198	64	45	307
Elementary school certificate	80	8	2	90
Secondary school certificate	469	183	72	724
Other	3	7	72	724
With work experience	389	131	41	561
Without work experience	163	67	34	264
Under two months training	461	166	34	661
More than two months training	41	32	41	164
Job placement	53	9	11	73
No job placement	499	189	64	752
Total	552	198	75	825

Source: ISFOL

sum of 32,000 lire for 18 months which is increased to 64,000 lire for the South of Italy.

Second, the employment on fixed-term contracts of young persons between the ages of 15 and 22 (which can be raised to 24 for women and higher secondary school diploma holders and to 29 for university graduates). This contract, which is limited to 12 months and is not renewable, can be stipulated in the proportion of two young persons to every 30 workers (lowered to 20 for the South). By the terms of the working agreement, the young persons must work at least 20 hours a week and must be given the time to attend qualified vocational courses. The company receives 200 lire per hour (which can be raised to 400 lire for the South) for 12 months and for the hours actually paid.

Third, the employment of young persons between ages 18 and 29 years in socially useful work, based on programs organized by the central administration and the regions. These programs concern specific projects developed in agreement with local authorities or other institutions. They are applicable to the following sectors: cultural heritage and environment; forestry, soil protection, and census taking of uncultivated land; forest fire prevention; fire fighting services; updating of the property register; tourism; inspection of working conditions and state employment services; pension services under the jurisdiction of the regional Treasury administration; geologic seismic, and water resources maps; technical assistance in agriculture and fisheries; agricultural and fishery experimentation; and socially relevant services.

The contract can last from 4 to 12 months and is not renewable. The working time cannot be less than 20 hours per week, and the salary must be equivalent to the basic minimum salary of state employees performing similar duties.

Fourth, employment of young people in a cooperative form in the agricultural field for the cultivation of uncultivated land; the development of land owned by municipalities, mountain villages, and regions; the processing of agricultural products; and the management of technical services for agriculture.

Funds will be available as incentives for cooperatives to accept young people between 18 and 29 years of age in the proportion of 40-70 percent of their members. For each young person in the cooperative, the regions will contribute 50,000 lire per month for 24 months in addition to their salary.

Also, in agriculture incentives will be available (100,000 lire per month for one year) for agricultural enterprises to hire agricultural technicians holding university degrees and/or high school diplomas in agriculture.

In order for young people to take advantage of this measure, a special list is kept in the municipalities' employment agencies where the unemployed between 15 and 29 years of age can enroll, with the double opportunity of simultaneous enrollment in the ordinary list, and (for immigrants) in their city of residence.

A graduated list of applicants will then be made (on the basis of technical skill, economic condition, and the family and personal situation of the applicant), from which the potential employers will be able to hire people based upon their place in the list and not upon their names.

Financially, the law appropriates 1,060 billion lire divided by year as follows:

1977	90 billion
1978	380 billion
1979	320 billion
1980	270 billion
Total	1,060 billion

For 1977, 10 billion lire have been reserved for vocational training contracts, while 80 billion have been earmarked for financing socially useful services. These latter funds will be further allocated as follows: 60 percent (48 billion) to the regions, of which 70 percent goes to the South of Italy and 40 percent (32 billion) to the central administrations.

The most important features of the law are:

a. the accent placed on the agricultural sector;

b. the importance given to the cooperative form, not only in the agricultural field, but also for socially useful services to be carried out by means of agreements between young peoples' cooperatives and the administrations;

c. the extension of the existing incentives to the artisan sector;

d. the exclusion from the benefits of the law of firms with three employees or less (now amended in a new act);

e. the exclusion of firms involved in building and industrial conversion projects;

f. the obligation of the firm to demonstrate that during the previous six months it has not laid off personnel taken on under permanent contracts. The firm forfeits the benefits if any employee is laid off while such benefits are being paid;

g. the obligation--in the case of vocational training contracts (contratti di formazione), to employ at least half of the trainees at the end of the vocational training period; failure to do so prevents the company from taking further advantage of the law; and

h. the graduated list: young people are taken on strictly according to their position on the list thus excluding any possibility of selection by name on the part of the employer.

After a year of operation, a series of problems regarding the application of the law have arisen, among which mention must be made of the following:

(a) Among the 7,410 persons enrolled in the special list (provided for by the law) on December 31, 1977, excessive proportions were at the higher levels of education and in the South.

(b) In spite of the widespread willingness stated by the youth (from 60-75 percent) to accept work which does not correspond to the type and level of training received, the first months of experience suggest

- a slow startup due to a relative unavailability of youth (a sign of uncertain motivation to enrolling in the special list)
- difficult adjustment in the firm by those accepting the work offered, resulting in cases of leaving after brief initial periods (confirming that formal facilitation of entry into work is not enough and that a more complex transition strategy is needed);

(c) The companies dislike accepting youths that they have not been able to select themselves. The law, in fact, requires that placement is strictly according to numerical order, and quantitatively modest results are to be seen even in the most recent data.

As of May 15, 1978, placements in the private sector only amounted to 2,916 young persons (of whom 613 were in the South) on indeterminate contracts (i.e., without a time limit), and 1,352 young persons (of which 19 were in the South) under training contracts.

In the light of these and other difficulties, the Government issued a decree in May 1978 amending Law 285 to better implement the objective of the original measure. In particular, the

Table 2. Distribution of Law No. 285, Special List Enrollees by Area, Age, Sex, and Education, December 31, 1977.

Item	Percent of total
Geographic area	
North	19.9%
Center	21.2
South	59.9
Age	
15-18	12.9
19-20	21.9
21-22	23.4
23-24	19.0
25-29	22.8
Sex	
Male	50.2
Female	49.8
Educational qualification	
Without a qualification	8.2
Secondary school certificate	29.5
Diplomas	57.6
- High schools and teacher training institutes	25.8
- Technical and vocational institutes	28.4
- Other schools	3.4
University degrees	4.7

amendment:

a. extends the eligibility of youth for the training contract to all youth between the ages of 15 and 26 years (29 for graduates);

b. lengthens the duration from a maximum of 12 to a maximum of 24 months;

c. sets a higher minimum duration of training time (from 50 percent to 30 percent higher);

d. increases the relative economic benefits (incentives) for entrepreneurs in the South; and

e. introduces a new form of vocational education which provides for periods of work experience along the lines of the module illustrated in section II of this paper. The limitations are:

   - the periods spent in the firm cannot exceed six months;

   - the working hours cannot exceed 40 hours a week; and

   - the young cannot be employed on the basis of directly productive objectives, except for very limited periods; and

f. established a permanent system for the observation and analysis of the dynamics of the labor market and extends to companies with up to 10 employees the possibility of taking on the youth by name and not numerically.

Elements for evaluation

It is still too early for an assessment to be made of the law and its results. The impression that emerges is the need to collect information from employers in order to identify their types of resistance to taking on young workers, and from the youth in order to ascertain "attitudes and culture" as regards work under current conditions.

ADULT TRAINING AND RELIEF WORK FOR YOUTH

G. REHN

Among the many Swedish programs for promotion of employment for the young are two experiments with the offering of employment subsidies to municipalities and private firms for the hiring of young people as replacements for older employees during training periods for the latter.

The programs in question (one for local government units and one slightly different for private enterprise) are among the smaller --order of magnitude 1,000 persons currently employed under its rules--but that should be seen against the background of the fact that other programs with similar purposes often are more advantageous or easier to apply by the employers. (All through 1977-78 about 30,000 persons below 25 years of age have been accommodated in various employment or training programs; and the "labour market training" programs have covered about 80,000 persons of all ages, i.e., about 2 percent of the labor force.) The number of persons affected each year is considerably greater, as each case lasts only a few months.

The rules are as follows for the municipal program: The employer gives an employee leave of absence for a course arranged under the auspices of the Labour Market Board and undertakes to pay him his ordinary wage or salary during the period in question. The tuition costs are covered by the State. The Employment Service advises the employer about job-seeking unemployed persons suitable as replacements. In the first place, these should be below 25, but other newcomers to the labor market can also be placed this way (housewives returning to income-earning work, etc.). A certain priority is to be given to persons who have worked in the community and request re-employ. It is not necessary for the replacer to work on exactly the same job as the absent trainee, and he can continue to stay in the community's service as substitute for a series of trainees. This is important for the reason that most of the courses should be of less than eight weeks duration (except in the case of courses for nurses aides, certain personnel in social case work and day nurseries: 10 to 20 weeks). The State reimburses the local government unit for 75 percent of the wage of the substitute workers. These are employed under the ordinary rules for "relief works"; this means that they are exempted from the employment protection law and should--at least in principle--be available for any job in the open market, which the Employment Service finds and regards as suitable.

As concerns the administration of this scheme, the Labour Market Board consults with an Advisory Group containing representatives of the Central School Board, the central Associations of Communes and of Provinces, and the relevant trade unions of blue and white collar workers and academic employees. On the local level, the implementation of the program is to be planned in close cooperation between the county labor boards, municipal employers, and the trade unions affected. This planning must be coordinated with other planning of relief work arrangements for each fiscal year. These annual programs are, however, subject to a high degree of versatility, permitting rapid action when needed because of changes in the local employment situation. The municipal authorities have been urged to undertake surveys of the training needs among their personnel and to work out training plans accordingly. The respective trade unions should be strongly involved in these personnel planning activities, which should show what groups should be most appropriately be engaged in the combined "relief work and training" program.

Curricula have been worked out by the Central School Board in cooperation with the central employers' and workers' organizations. Some 50 curricula have been worked out specifically for this program, i.e., with a view to be suitable for the jobs dominating in municipal service. Trainees can, however, also be placed in any course under the general "labour market training" program, as far as the other conditions are covered, as indicated above.

The employers' and workers' organizations have to inform all municipal personnel about planned training activities (some of which can start at short notice). They shall also--in common--propose to the county labor boards about applications to be approved, but the county labor boards make the final selection of trainees--as well as of relief workers to act as substitutes.

On the other hand, it is, of course, the responsibility of the employer to see to it that the substitutes get suitable employment, including short introduction training, if needs be.

The parallel program for private enterprise has the following particular characteristics: The reimbursement is 25 SKr per hour of training (a similar order of magnitude as the 75 percent in the municipal case). This can be paid for training of a person who has been working for at least five years or achieved the age of 25 years. It can be given for maximum 960 hours of training, if a person under 25 years (for permanent employment) is hired and if this represents a net increase of employment in the firm. If he hires one more young person, the employer can receive the 25 Kr subsidy for 960 more training hours. The training can be divided up on several persons, provided each of them gets at least 160 hours. Trainees should preferably be selected among persons with short general education or missing vocational training. The employer must consult with the relevant trade union as concerns the need for training, employment conditions and wages for the persons affected, the suitability of the curriculum, etc.

The purpose of these programs is obviously double: to increase the level of skills by training during slack periods (conjunctural or seasonal) and to shorten the unemployment queues during the same periods. The concentration of training upon persons with a certain amount of work experience or level of age makes them part of the general policy (decided by Parliament in connection with a general reform of higher education, 1975) of promoting recurrent education as a principle for the education and training system as a whole. The priority for training to be given to those who had little school education in their own young years, while the young people hired as substitutes are given work and no or little training, makes them a practical application of the idea that it is possible to "work first and train later"; in other words, that "there will be later trains in the time-table" for those who have let the first ones pass by. Those who hate school or are uncertain about themselves should have a chance to get incomes and work experience while they try their way in the labor market.

The municipal employers are recommended by both the labor market authorities and their own central organizations to place the young relief workers in jobs which give them useful experience and where there is a chance that they will be placed permanently after the end of the permitted relief work period (maximum six months). They acquite a moral duty, together with the Employment Service, to find them another job or to incite them to take up some formal training or education. For those below 18 years of age, this duty to keep contact with young people and to see to it that they are well advised about schools and courses, as well as job opportunities, is statutory since 1977, and a special committee is organized in each commune for this purpose. At any rate, the fact that the young person has had a paid job for at least three months gives him a right to a certain amount of unemployment benefit even if he is not yet eligible in an unemployment insurance fund.

The fact that the local trade union has to be involved in the planning and organization of the whole arrangement gives a certain guarantee that it will be applied in such a way that it becomes a help to the youngsters in their endeavors to orient themselves in the labor market, and that they are not solely exploited in menial tasks, neither by the municipal or the private employers.

While the young substitutes for trainees in municipal service are engaged under the relief work rules, implying that they have to regard the job as temporary, those hired by private employers have the same status as any newly hired worker, including the gradual acquisition of employment security rights. This implies that the employer has an own interest in seeing to it that he gets some one-the-job training.

It may be noted also that the young workers engaged under these programs have to be hired via the employment service, i.e., among those registered there as unemployed job seekers. As in other programs, there is a general directive from the government that they shall be used, as far as possible, to promote the general endeavor to break down occupational sex barriers; there should be a preference for female workers in occupations with male dominance and vice versa.

As already indicated, the scope of these programs is relatively limited. There is a certain administrative complication in their utilization. As for the private firms, the program has only been in force for a relatively short period, during which any need for increases of the number of employees has been rare.

According to a preliminary estimate for the fiscal year 1977-78, the number of employees in municipal service (communes and counties) who participated in training courses under this program was around 4,000. For the same period, the number of substitutes added up to 3,000. To some extent, obviously, one young person had continued in openings left by more than one trainee. The average length of each one's employment in these jobs seem to have been around three months.

(More detailed studies for the purpose of evaluation of these programs are in process, but not yet available at the end of June 1978.)

PART II

Introduction

In this part of the volume, recurrent education is examined as a major new reform of the relationship between the education and work sectors. Implications of developments in recurrent education for youth unemployment and the school-to-work transition problems are drawn.

The first chapter in this part is a theoretical treatment focused on the prospects for recurrent education while the second chapter is an empirical treatment focused on the use of statistical data in two countries for learning about recurrent education and the transition from school to working life. The contents of these two chapters are sketched below.

Mark Blaug takes note of the many favorable claims made for recurrent education in the light of fiscal, demographic, and labor force trends, and asks why in fact there is so little of it. In his "Notes on Recurrent Education: Some Constructive Thoughts by a Skeptic," he distinguishes two components of recurrent education--postponement of post-compulsory schooling and second-chance education for adults. Drawing on economic theory and evidence from European countries and the United States, he offers explanations for the slow and uneven advance of recurrent education programs and suggests the outlines of their future development. Differences between Europe and the United States are pointed out, and the key factors influencing recurrent education in the future are identified.

In "Further Education under Comparative Perspective: Examining France and Germany," Herbert F. Bode presents data on "further education" in two countries in order to better understand the diverse components of these education and training opportunities and how they relate to the problem of transition from school to work. Further education or "lifelong learning" refers to all organized learning activities beyond the initial youth schooling period. Features of German further education are sketched and statistics presented on participation, courses, and finance of adult education, firm-level training, and educational leaves of absence. The relation between these programs and youth unemployment and school-to-work transition problems is suggested by data on characteristics of further education programs (such as length and type of training) and their participants (e.g., previous employment and educational status). Similar material is also presented for France.

NOTES ON RECURRENT EDUCATION: SOME CONSTRUCTIVE THOUGHTS BY A SKEPTIC

MARK BLAUG

Recurrent education, better known in the United States as "lifelong learning," has been comprehensively defined as a "global system containing a variety of programs which distribute education and training of different levels (primary, secondary, and tertiary), by formal and nonformal means, over the life-span of the individual in a recurring way, that is, alternated with work or other activities."[1] Although this all-embracing concept of cradle-to-the-grave education and training ought to include preschool nursery programs, the terms "recurrent education" (RE) and "lifelong learning" are confined by most writers to courses directed at individuals who have completed their compulsory schooling. Thus, for all practical purposes, RE may be defined as any formally organized, post-compulsory system of alternating periods of studying and periods of working--the words are carefully chosen and no qualifications are necessary. RE may be provided full-time or part-time, for long or for short periods, for vocational or for cultural reasons, and by educational institutions, governments, employers, unions, or any other body--none of these features are critical in distinguishing RE from standard educational and training programs. On the other hand, RE excludes apprenticeship schemes and on-the-job (but not off-the-job) training, as well as adult education of the traditional type, either because these are not formally organized or because they do not involve alternation of learning and earning. It has proved useful to further distinguish two main components of RE, namely, (1) postponement of post-compulsory schooling and (2) second-chance education for adults; in the first case, we educate individuals at a later rather than an earlier age, whereas in the second case, we educate older individuals who would never have been educated at all under present arrangements.

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1. V. Stoikov, The Economics of Recurrent Education and Training. Geneva: ILO, 1975, pp. 5-6. In a veritable ocean of literature on recurrent education, this slender book by Stoikov stands out as an authoritative contribution.

RE in any one of the senses defined above has had a somewhat checkered career since its inception around 1970, or thereabouts. In an earlier paper, Mace and I attempted to survey the extent to which elements of RE had been achieved to date in six countries, namely, Sweden, Germany, France, Yugoslavia, the United Kingdom, and the United States.[2] At the risk of oversimplification, we concluded that Sweden and Germany had made considerable progress in creating an open-door system of upper secondary and tertiary education wasily accessible to adults without, however, providing much financial assistance to workers to enable them to take up these new opportunities for second-chance education, while France, on the other hand, had gone further than any other country in legislating paid study leave for workers, while restricting much of the expansion of second-chance education thereby created to purely vocational programs of short duration. The United Kingdom has some postponed schooling in the so-called "further education colleges" and some second-chance education in the Open University, but the numbers involved in all these cases are small and as for paid educational leave (PEL) financed out of payroll taxes, which is on the increase everywhere in continental Europe, the concept and certainly the legislation hardly exists in Great Britain. Similarly, PEL is relatively rare in the United States and even where study leave is provided for in labor contracts, it is as often unpaid rather than paid educational leave. Despite the 1976 enactment of the Lifetime Learning Act, with a small fiscal appropriation from the Congress, it is true to say that there is no national policy in the United States directed at the implementation of RE. Similarly, although most American firms provide off-the-job-in-plant training for managers and supervisors, American workers rarely leave their jobs for mid-career training and retraining.[3] In short, despite all the broohaha about RE, in practical terms the concept seems to be running into the sands.

The fact is that no country in the world has yet succeeded in postponing either secondary or higher education to a later stage in life for anything but a few thousand students. And as for second-chance education for adults, the concept of PEL that would underwrite second-chance opportunities has been everywhere circumscribed by extremely limited financial aid and by specific directives that confine the leave to vocational updating or retraining. Thus, in Germany, where all workers in large firms and medium-sized firms are entitled to PEL, the entitlement to full pay is equal to 12 working days every two years, which adds up to a two-months course after 10 years of working. Although this may be a harbinger of things to come, it is hardly the dramatic revolution in the reallocation of education over the lifetime of individuals that advocates of RE have called for. Likewise, even in Yugoslavia, where the right of workers to leaves of absences is administered by the worker-management committees of individual enterprises, the bulk of adult enrollments are for purposes of vocational and professional preparation rather than self-renewal or cultural enrichment. In other words, this is not truly second-chance education but rather vocational training and retraining writ large.

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[2] M. Blaug and J. Mace, "Recurrent Education - The New Jerusalem," Higher Education, February 1977.

[3] See Stanley D. Nollen, "The Current State of Recurrent Education," in D. W. Vermilye (ed.), Relating Work and Education. Current Issues in Higher Education, 1977. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977.

This defines the question to which this paper is addressed. If fiscal, demographic, and labor force trends, as well as a rising concern with the equity implications of educational policies, make RE imperative around the world, as is frequently claimed,[4] why is so little happening on the RE front? Furthermore, among the various components of RE, which ones hold out more promise than others of actually being realized in the years to come? Our discussion takes the form of a series of notes without any pretense of exhausting all aspects of RE.

1. The Postponement Issue

Of all the variations on the RE theme, the one that is easiest to justify on grounds of both economic and educational efficiency is that of postponing full-time higher and possibly upper secondary education by one, two, or even three years. Applying conventional cost-benefit analysis to the age-earnings profiles that are generated by the present "front-end" model of sequential education, Stoikov has shown that a postponement of full-time post-compulsory education of up to three years, although costly, is justifiable in terms of the social and private rate of return on educational investment.[5] Alas, this is not RE proper because it leaves out the element of alternating learning and earning. On the other hand, Stoikov concludes, postponement of formal education simultaneous with its conversion from full-time to part-time (the true RE model) cannot be justified on strict efficiency grounds for periods longer than three years. This conclusion may, of course, be reversed if this type of education, geared to older people, is somehow transformed, say, by distance-teaching techniques, into something that is cheaper to provide than the present system geared to youngsters aged 18-22. But so long as teaching methods are unchanged, even a five-six years postponement of part-time higher education is difficult to justify on efficiency grounds.

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[4] For example, T. Schuller and J. Bengtsson, "A Strategy for Equity: Recurrent Education and Industrial Democracy," in J. Karabel and A. H. Halsey (eds.), Power and Ideology in Education. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

[5] Stoikov, op. cit., pp. 16, 112.

Breaking out of the mold of cost-benefit analysis and introducing considerations of the deterioration and obsolescence of knowledge with age does not substantially alter these conclusions. Since the benefits of lengthy postponement by five, 10, or 20 years compounds the effectiveness of learning at different ages with the effectiveness of applying learning to earning at different ages--older people find it more difficult to study than younger people, but they find it easier to relate what they learn to their recent work experience--answers in this area are bound to be judgments combining psychological evidence of the aging process with the testimony of adult educators. On balance, Stoikov concludes that if the learning in question is at all formal and general, the advantage will always be with those who have had a sound basic education not too long ago. The question of the deterioration of knowledge and the obsolescence of skills actually argues against and not for RE, at least if RE means general, academic education for older workers (as appears to be the usual view of RE enthusiasts), because it is precisely general knowledge and basic skills which deteriorate more slowly than specific skills; besides, the older the worker, the fewer the remaining years of working life for which it would be worthwhile to repair his obsolete skills. In short, "the optimal role of recurrent education as an antidote for human capital obsolescence seems to be preventive rather than curative."[6] Summing up, the benefits of RE are greater if it is concentrated on the young who have left formal education recently and who have received sufficient "preventive" education of a basic kind to benefit from "curative" RE of the updating, retraining type at a later age.

But if there are efficiency arguments for the postponement of post-compulsory education of up to two to three years, the fact remains that mere postponement by a few years will not touch the equity problem of the intrageneration gap in educational provision between social classes, not to mention the intergeneration gap in provision between youths and adults. No doubt, this accounts for the fact that advocates of RE have laid far more emphasis on the second-chance version of RE than on the postponement version. At the same time, it makes it more difficult to account for the almost universal failure of the postponement model to get off the ground: governments are usually much more susceptible to efficiency than to equity arguments and, certainly, politicians are fond of any idea that is said to be economically efficient, implying as it does that some voters can be made better off without any other voter being made worse off.

The basic reason for the failure of the postponement model lies undoubtedly in the relative autonomy of higher education systems

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6. Ibid., pp. 49-50; see also T. Simkins, "Recurrent Education: Some Economic Issues," Higher Education, November 1976, particularly pp. 365-368.

around the world even in those countries (such as Germany, France, Sweden, Great Britain, etc.) where all or most higher education institutions are both owned and financed by central government. Teachers in colleges and universities find it more convenient and certainly easier to teach students straight out of high school. Mixing full-time and part-time students, academic courses and vocational courses, and young and mature students in one institution can present all sorts of administrative difficulties which are not welcomed unless there is in fact a strong initial commitment among the teaching staff to a model of open-ended higher education. Community colleges in the United States and further education colleges in the United Kingdom are examples of sectors with such a tradition of educating students of all ages in courses of various durations and levels. But even in these sectors, the bulk of the students tend to be under the age of 22, so that whatever is achieved in these institutions in catering to a wide variety of educational demands, it is not effective postponement of higher education by two to three years. Moreover, educational prestige in America and Great Britain still accrues to the mainstream university sector where the standard model of sequential, uninterrupted education holds full sway.

There is little prospect of effective postponement happening anywhere unless either students or institutions are given a financial incentive to postpone. At the moment, there are strong financial disincentives to postpone post-compulsory schooling: the older a potential student, the less likely he or she is to receive financial assistance from parents; besides, foregone earnings tend to be higher for older students and even if the private rate of return to postponed schooling is favorable, imperfections of capital markets discriminate against those who require larger funds. Such considerations may not be decisive in Europe where higher education tends to be centrally controlled, if not centrally directed. In Europe, postponement might come by decree. Thus, both Germany and Sweden have willy-nilly forced their universities to institute short-cycle programs for mature students and to increasingly substitute work experience for secondary schooling as a qualification for university admission. Nothing like that has happened in Great Britain, but if there were the political will in the United Kingdom to bring about compulsory postponement of higher education, there is no doubt that the University Grants Committee in Great Britain has the power to, say, lay down admission quotas by age. Of course, this is not true in the United States where, indeed, effective postponement for a large proportion of the cohort that normally enters universities straight from high school will probably remain a dead letter unless financial incentives are created.

For example, one idea that has recently been mooted in the United States is that of "educational entitlements," namely, a voucher equivalent to the direct costs of the last two years of high school that could be cashed at any high school or training institute over a period as long as six years. In principle, this should create no larger budgetary outlays than the present system of free public high schools and, of course, the same idea is applicable to the four years of study at state universities with their nominal tuition fees.[7] If entitlements to cover the tuition costs of two, four, or six years of formal education could be joined with a system of unsubsidized loans for students to cover some or all of their maintenance costs (I am deliberately assuming no extra public expenditure to finance postponement so as not to load the argument), and if entitlements could be used not just for formal courses in high schools and universities, but also for apprenticeships, training programs, and even adult enrichment courses, who can doubt that there would be a considerable move toward postponement of post-compulsory education?

At the moment, the earlier a person dismounts from the educational train, the more difficulty he has in clambering back on the train. With the existence of entitlements, more school leavers in post-compulsory education would leave early, knowing that leaving would not compromise their future chance to gain education. After acquiring work experience, some might decide never to reenter the educational system, although others might actually be encouraged to take up higher education which they otherwise would have shunned. The total numbers demanding post-compulsory education might go either way as a result of entitlements but that is not the point. The point of postponement is presumably to break the certification syndrome that is so characteristic of adolescents today in most advanced countries and in the process to improve both the educational and occupational choices of students. Like the GI Bill in the 1950's and 1960's, entitlements would go to individuals and not institutions, as a result of which a relatively free market in post-compulsory education would be created in which supply would respond to demand instead of the present situation where demand so frequently responds to supply.

The potential for a move towards postponement is much greater in America than it is in Europe if only because labor markets in America are more flexibly organized to absorb youngsters in part-time and temporary employment. Furthermore, there is now serious youth unemployment in a number of European countries (such as the United Kingdom, France, and Italy) and the authorities in these countries are unlikely to welcome still more young people seeking work as a result of a trend towards postponement. Besides, the mix of public and private institutions in the American system of higher education makes it easier to break down resistance to a reform of admission policies which would be required to give effect to postponement.

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[7] N. D. Kurland (ed.), Entitlement Studies. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1977, and in N. D. Kurland, D. M. Windham, and F. H. Levinsohn (eds.), "Financing the Learning Society," School Review, May 1978 (entire issue).

All of which is to say that America is likely to lead Europe in introducing the postponement version of RE on a significant scale. It is curious that the very opposite statement holds for the second-chance version of RE.

2. The Second Chance Issue

It is not easy to explain why PEL has caught on in Europe but not in the United States. Perhaps we should begin by knocking down some of the factors that are sometimes advanced to account for the greater popularity of RE in its second-chance version in Europe than in America. One such factor is the supposedly greater incidence of "internal labor markets" in such countries as Germany and Sweden.[8] According to Doeringer and Piore, the inventors of the concept, "internal labor markets" (ILM) are the administrative units of an industrial enterprise (of which there may be more than one) within which the pricing and allocation of labor is governed by unwritten and customary procedures and not by market forces; in short, ILM are not markets at all in the ordinary sense of the term, but rather job clusters insulated from competitive forces.[9] If we suppose--and it is a big if--that workers demand RE but are discouraged by having to pay for it themselves, then to the extent that ILM gives workers greater scope for bargaining over working conditions, the existence of ILM is likely to lead to PEL, the second-chance version of RE.

Leaving aside the question whether ILM are really conducive to RE, let us ask whether it is in fact true that ILM are more common in Europe than in the United States. If there is anything to the idea of ILM, it predicts that we will in fact observe a number of different wage structure for labor of identical quality among business firms producing the same product and facing the same labor market conditions. Doeringer and Piore do not lay down quantitative criteria for measuring the strength of ILM in any particular enterprise, but since the notion is that the firm only hires labor in the external labor market at one or two "entry ports" in the occupational pyramid (say, at the base and at the apex), all other jobs being filled by internal upgrading, one such criterion might be the labor turnover rate of a firm. However, if there are a number of different ILM in a plant for different grades of labor, the firm's labor turnover rate will provide ambiguous information and, therefore, has to be supplemented by other measures, such as promotion ladders for particular job clusters, age-specific earnings for labor of standard quality, etc.[10] Even so, it has so far proved impossible to provide a rigorous set of criteria for ranking firms in terms of the degree to which they operate ILM. Hence, there is no firm basis for the argument that ILM are now more common than they used to be or more common in one country than in another.

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[8] See, e.g., Nollen, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

[9] P. Doeringer and M. Piore, Internal Labour Markets and Manpower Analysis. Lexington: Heath & Co., 1971.

Doeringer and Piore attribute the appearance of ILM to the growth of trade unions, to the rising costs of labor turnover (higher wages making for higher recruitment and screening costs), and to the increasing importance of firm-specific skills, clearly implying that there was a Golden Age in the past when ILM were exceptions and not the rule as they are today. But in the absence of any definite method of quantifying the strength of ILM in an enterprise, it is difficult to know what to make of such statements. At any rate, there is little evidence that the alleged growth of ILM has anything to do with new technological developments bringing increased job and product specialization, nor even with skill shortages and rising labor costs. If manpower shortages and rising labor costs have made firms more sensitive to the high search costs of finding new labor, the incidence of ILM should vary with the unemployment rate, in which case the rise of unemployment in recent years in contrast to the relatively full employment conditions of the 1950's and 1960's should have resulted in a decline and not an increase in ILM in the 1970's. However, no such claim has been advanced or sustained on behalf of the phenomenon of ILM. A much more likely cause of a secular trend towards ILM, if indeed there is such a secular trend, is the growth in the size of plants and the spread of collective bargaining in manufacturing and services.[11] It is not so much technology that is making skills increasingly firm specific, so that employers are impelled to expand their internal training activities and willing to bear the costs of such activities, as that the complexity of large plants makes all skills "specific" rather than "general" in Becker's sense of these terms.[12] More organizational knowledge is required to work effectively in a large plant than a small one and hence off-the-job orientation courses are bound to increase as plants get larger. Similarly, the growth of trade unions means that management decisions about wage rates, training, occupational structures, job contents, and worker assignments will come to be increasingly shared with workers. Thus, the spread of collective bargaining must be credited as the single most potent force making for the growth of ILM.

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[10] See J. D. Mace and S. M. Taylor, "The Demand for Engineers in British Industry: Some Implications for Manpower Forecasting," British Journal of Industrial Relations, July 1975, and J. D. Mace, "Internal Labour Markets for Engineers in British Industry," ibid., 1978.

[11] But A. J. Alexander, "Income, Experience, and the Structure of Internal Labor Markets," Quarterly Journal of Economics, February 1974, failed to find any connection between plant size and ILM.

[12] G. S. Becker, Human Capital. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1975, pp. 19-37.

If these are the factors behind the phenomenon of ILM, there is not much to choose between America and Europe: plant sizes in the same industry do not vary much across countries and although the proportion of the labor force that is organized in unions is somewhat higher in most European countries than in America, this is a slender reed on which to base any dramatic argument about differences between the two sides of the Atlantic. But the entire argument about the growth of ILM or its greater incidence there than here is highly speculative. Moreover, it is largely irrelevant because we have yet to establish any basis for the theory that, in a phrase, the more ILM there are, the greater is the demand for RE.

We come, I think, much closer to a vital difference between America and Europe in considering the movement towards what has been called "industrial democracy." In America, workers' participation in the running of business enterprises has been a demand of the radical left[13] which has so far received little practical implementation and certainly no official endorsement. In Germany, on the other hand, there has been a considerable growth of management training courses for workers on leaves of absence with full pay as a result of workers' participation both in the daily management of plants and the strategic management of multiplants firms. In Sweden, a 1977 Law of Co-Determination has given a seat among management on the board of directors of all companies with more than 50 workers and this has led in Sweden, as in Germany, to the growth of PEL for training in business management and industrial relations. Similar developments appear to be around the corner in Great Britain and in general it is clear that industrial democracy and PEL will grow hand-in-hand in Europe in the years to come. Now, why the battle for workers' participation should, so to speak, have been won in Europe, whereas it has not yet been fought in the United States, is a nice question. It is more or less the same question as to why European workers are more militant, more class-conscious, and more job-security conscious than American workers, and the answer to that question would take us far afield from our present concerns. Suffice it to say that it has everything to do with the presence of PEL in Europe and the virtual absence of PEL in America.

It could, of course, be argued that PEL is one of those demands for the "rights" of workers that is more inspired by the class ideology of trade unions than by the felt needs of individual workers. Even in Europe, there has been no massive expansion of adult education as a result of PEL and in this sense it may be that the lack of PEL in America is simply a reflection of the pragmatic attitudes of American trade union leaders; they are not excited by PEL because there is no demand for it at the grassroots. This raises the central question of demand for RE to which we now turn.

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[13] See, e.g., S. Bowles and H. Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America. New York: Basic Books, 1976.

3. Demand for Second-chance Education

If there is one thing that can be said about education after a century of subsidized state education around the world, it is that there is very little pure consumption demand for schooling even among the young who so frequently have no other alternatives but to stay in school. If schooling promised no advance in earnings, or at least an increased opportunity to enter occupations with favorable working conditions, the demand for schooling would practically fall to zero. The world offers few social experiments to test this proposition, but one such experiment that confirms it is the effort to promote adult education of the evening-class or weekend-course variety that dates back to the middle of the last century. Despite vigorous state support for adult education in many countries, the numbers enrolled in adult education courses are still insignificant compared to those adults enrolled in training and retraining courses, not to mention the young enrolled in sequential courses in the formal educational system. Moreover, as is well known, the participants in adult education courses are typically college graduates commanding fairly high incomes.[14] In short, the demand for adult education is a demand for "recreation" on the part of the middle classes; there is absolutely no evidence of any burning demand on the part of adult workers for formal education of either the short-cycle or long-cycle variety.

Perhaps this is not surprising because most adult education is either based on or deeply influenced by the single-discipline curriculum and the examination-ridden teaching methods that have been developed in the school system geared to younger age groups. In other words, the character of adult education is more determined by the nature of its supply than by the nature of its demand. After examining six case studies of actual PEL programs in the United States, one author concluded that there is a demand for adult education among American workers but only if (1) there are clear links between the courses taken up and the chances for upward mobility within the firm, (2) if there are substantial quantities of relevant educational inputs, and (3) if both employers and unions play an active role in the creation of the program.[15] But these ifs begin to suggest what is the problem in assessing the demand for PEL. If PEL is career-oriented, vocational, firm-specific in motivation and short-term, with the workers in question wholly or partly selected by employers, it comes close to being in-service training. Now, it has never been denied that there is a demand for in-service training. The difficulty is that the advocates of RE have had a somewhat different model in mind, namely, PEL for cultural reasons (general training over the longer term amounting to extended full-time study) as the right of all workers without preselection by employers. What may be questioned is whether there is much demand for this sort of PEL, which is not to deny that what little demand there is cannot be satisfied under existing arrangements.

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[14] National Center for Educational Statistics, Participation in Adult Education, 1975. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978. See also E. Brunner, et al., An Overview of Adult Education Research. Washington, D.C.: Adult Education Association of the United States, 1967.

[15] Stanley D. Nollen, "Paid Educational Leave: New Element in Firm-Level Manpower Policy," Proceedings of the 30th Annual Winter Meeting of the Industrial Relations Research Association. Madison, Wis.: IRRA, 1978.

The question that is at issue here is more than a matter of assessing a potential demand for a type of education. It is also the heart of a kind of language barrier between the friends and the enemies of RE. Wherever we look, we see plenty of employer-supported, off-the-job-in-plant training programs and even some off-the-job-out-of-plant training schemes (as, for example, the "sandwich courses" and "day-release" programs in British further education colleges), as well as a profusion of government-sponsored schemes of post-school classroom training. But because these are either part-time or short-cycle courses, and integrated rather than alternating with work, they are dismissed by the spokesmen for RE as not belonging to RE proper. Hence, a great deal of valuable information on the pattern of demand for education and training on the part of adults is ignored as being irrelevant to the case for RE.

Admittedly, the evidence of manpower training programs is highly ambiguous on the question of demand. The American Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 was largely directed at the unemployed and trainees under that Act received substantial stipends while undergoing training.[16] Similarly, the more recent Federal-State Vocational Rehabilitation Programs are directed at specific groups from the lower end of the earnings distribution who are almost certainly unrepresentative of workers as a whole.[17] Even the efficiency case for manpower training schemes has been called into question because, while designed to deal with structural unemployment, so many of them were carried out under conditions of widespread general unemployment due to deficient aggregate demand. When there is general unemployment, a manpower training program is likely to generate second-order, general equilibrium effects known in the literature as "replacement" and "displacement."[18]

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[16] O. Ashenfelter, "The Effect of Manpower Training on Earnings: Preliminary Results," Proceedings of the 27th Annual Meeting of the Industrial Relations Research Association. Madison, Wis.: IRRA, 1975, pp. 252-260.

[17] See J. D. Worrall, "A Benefit-Cost Analysis of the Vocational Rehabilitation Program," Journal of Human Resources, Spring 1978.

[18] See J. J. Hughes, "The Location of Government Training Centres," International Journal of Social Economics, II, 3, 1975, and the debate between Hughes and A. Ziderman, ibid., IV, 3, 1977. See also J. Goldstein, The Effectiveness of Manpower Training Programs: A Review of Research on the Impact on the Poor. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972, and J. Hughes, Cost-Benefit Aspects of Manpower Retraining. London: HMSO, 1970.

"Replacement" is the phenomenon whereby a vacancy created by a quit to join a government training course is filled by another employed or previously unemployed worker, the same effect taking place at the next round of quits, and so on. "Displacement" is the phenomenon whereby a trainee enters employment after training but only by displacing another untrained worker. In either case, we are misled if we take account only of the earnings of trainees before and after training, the standard procedure in most cost-benefit evaluations of manpower training programs, because all that the training scheme may have done is to alter the personal incidence of structural unemployment without reducing its overall size.

Even employer-financed, off-the-job training courses may not tell us as much about the demand for training on the part of either employees or employers as we may have hoped. If ILM are really on the increase, there is the possibility that off-the-job training is increasingly regarded by many firms as a routine fringe benefit for workers which may not have much to do with their age-geared payment structure. At any rate, it is alarming that wherever firms' training programs have been carefully scrutinized, it turns out that most firms have no information on training costs, do not reckon output foregone as a cost of training, and make no efforts at all to measure the returns from training.[19] I am not concerned to argue that there is overinvestment or underinvestment in training in America, Great Britain, or anywhere else, but simply that there is little prospect of discovering the potential demand for training whether provided by firms or by governments unless individuals are furnished with flexible "entitlements" to education and training, or possibly earmarked grants and loans, not only for training and retraining, but also to finance a job search and to purchase vocational guidance.[20]

4. Some Conclusions

Taking all the arguments together, I see a very slow growth of RE in the decades to come, the postponement version coming faster in the United States than elsewhere, with Europe pointing the way in respect of the second-chance version. The critical factor will be equity rather than efficiency questions and the outstanding equity question will be, not the unequal distribution of formal education between the young and the old, but rather the unequal distribution of formal education between advantaged and disadvantaged groups in the community;

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19. See K. Hartley, "The Economics of Training: Theory and Evidence," European Training, I, 2, Summer 1972, reporting on a study of 50 firms in the United Kingdom hotel and catering industry.

20. See K. Hartley, "Industrial Training and Public Policy: From Industrial Training Boards to the State Manpower Bank," in A. J. Culyer (ed.), Economic Policies and Social Goals. London: Martin Robertson, 1974.

there is now deep disillusionment with the notion that a fair start in the race, as embodied in the concept of equality of opportunity in sequential education, serves to equalize the life chances of individuals. Loans, grants, and "entitlements" will radically transform the time-scale of the coming of RE, but even without financial support to individuals to enable them to take up post-compulsory education in recurring phases alternating with periods of work, there will be more and more postponement and more and more drawing of mature students into institutions of higher education. There is every prospect of declining enrollments among young people, partly because of the baby bulge and partly because declining returns to college graduates are sapping the demand for university education. Excess capacity in tertiary institutions will make them eager to enroll new clients and rising educational costs will make them keen to reap economies of scale by drawing a wide variety of educational services under one roof. It is conceivable that government training programs for the unemployed will be increasingly located in higher education institutions clamoring for students to fill up the existing space, in which case it will not take long to realize that even general education courses make workers more trainable on-the-job, complementing rather than substituting for vocational courses.

Some commentators have been struck by the way Sweden has attempted to use its high levels of youth unemployment to promote the second-chance version of RE: it instituted a subsidy scheme in 1976 to encourage firms to release older workers on PEL while replacing them by younger workers under the age of 25. Evidently, the subsidy recognizes the fact that workers of different ages and with unequal work experience are not perfect substitutes for each other. If youth unemployment continues to be a serious problem in advanced countries in the years to come, it may be that other governments will imitate the Swedes in adopting this policy innovation, thereby underwriting RE.

When all is said and done, however, it is collective bargaining that will promote RE. If inflation is controlled by monetary and fiscal policies, or by incomes policies that limit wage increases, future bargaining will increasingly be concerned with fringe benefits, among which PEL looms large. And if industrial democracy continues to grow in Europe and if it eventually invades the United States, the demand for PEL will become an imperative of the new responsibilities of workers.

It is easy to sketch the coming of this "brave new world" but it is appallingly difficult to specify its outlines in concrete terms. What is so striking about the RE literature is that RE is an island of aspirations entirely surrounded by a sea of ignorance.[21] We know next to nothing, as we have said, about the real demand of workers for education and training. We are equally in the dark about alternative methods of producing different kinds of knowledge and skills that would make less use of expensive plants and expensive educators than do current systems. We fancy that most RE programs for adults are badly designed but that is not to say that we know how they ought to be designed, nor even whether they should be located at the work site or in separate classrooms. We are not even sure that RE would solve the equity problem because it is perfectly conceivable that the educationally and socially privileged would take advantage of RE opportunities in adult education as they have taken advantage of practically every other free social service in modern times.

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[21] It is difficult even now to add much to Selma J. Mushkin's deeply pessimistic research agenda for RE, penned almost five years ago in Selma J. Mushkin (ed.), Recurrent Education. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974, pp. 295-319.

In the circumstances, support for RE must rest largely on faith. In the meanwhile, we need to monitor every experience with the elements of RE wherever they occur, be they postponement, PEL, or manpower training schemes. Community colleges in the United States, colleges of further education in the United Kingdom, PEL in France, and the substitution of work experience for secondary school qualifications in Sweden and Germany are obvious examples. In this way, what was now a faith may gradually become a substantive argument fortified by empirical evidence.

FURTHER EDUCATION UNDER COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE: EXAMINING FRANCE AND GERMANY (F.R.)

HERBERT F. BODE

I. Examining Further Education in Germany (Federal Republic)

The concept of a comprehensive system of "further education" first emerged in 1970 when the German Education Council[1] suggested the establishment of a fourth sector of the public education system --equal to the primary, secondary, and higher education enterprises. In this context, "further education" refer to all organized learning activities and opportunities beyond the initial youth schooling period. It thus includes the diverse components and varieties of adult and recurrent education, e.g., adult education or evening or weekend continuing education, routine on-the-job training, and off-the-job formally organized educational leave.

Many policy claims have been made for developing and supporting further education under public control. The basic aim is the merging of all educational activities into a comprehensive system of further education for adults, including occupational training, retraining, and general adult education.

At present, there remain several different organizational structures and sources of instruction. For example, further education is available from:

- local public agencies (Volkshochschulen or "people's colleges");
- federal public agencies (Bundesanstalt fur Arbeit);
- universities and colleges (professional extension programs);
- radio and television stations (televised teaching, educational broadcasting)
- industrial associations (interplant training, training centers);
- private employers (firm-level occupational training);
- labor unions (training workshops, weekend training);
- professional associations and foundations (summer schools, lectures);
- private non-collegiate institutes (training centers); and
- correspondence schools.

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[1] The German Education Council (Deutscher Bildungsrat) is a joint federal-state advisory commission. Deutscher Bildungsrat, Bildungskommission (ed.), Strukturplan fur das Bildungswesen, Bonn, 1970. Cf. H. Becker, Bildungsforschung und Bildungsplanung, Frankfurt/Main, 1971.

The federal government and state agencies do not only support their own institutions (such as the adult evening institutes), but also finance numerous other sources of instruction. A comprehensive survey of all these activities is impossible to give, since data (e.g., on the number of participants, source of instruction, and type of program) are mostly withheld. There is no legal obligation for reporting such data to the public yet.

The Bund-Lander-Commission for Educational Planning[2] has demanded that

> all measures in this field aim at shaping and expanding a system of further education under public responsibility for it to become one of the main parts of the educational system. Within the scope of their responsibilities, the Federation, the Lander (state) and local authorities will supply adequate educational facilities answering modern requirements....Vocational general, and political education have to be seen in association with one another.[3]

The German Education Council has sought to coordinate all further education activities and to mandate data collection by a central information agency. Besides these more pragmatic suggestions, the Council has stated another educational goal: the termination of the "dual system" of occupational and general education.

Three issues are central in the discussion about the future of all forms of further education for adults:

(1) To establish a system of public further education requires a radical change in public perception of education in general. Too many persons view education as an activity which is restricted to the traditional age for attendance at regular educational institutions. Accordingly, employment and work are considered isolated from education. The German Education Council presses for a public perception of education as a lifelong activity and as an integrated part of employment.

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[2] The Bund-Lander-Commission is a joint federal-state commission with the legal competence for educational planning. In 1973, it passed a comprehensive plan for education and the frame for a federal-state education budget. Cf. Bund-Lander-Kommission fur Bildungsplanung (ed.), Bildungsgesamtplan und Bildungsbudget, Stuttgart, 1973.

[3] General Plan for Education, Bund-Lander-Commission for Educational Planning (ed.), Bonn, 1973, p. 34 (English version).

(2) Such a far reaching concept of lifelong education has found many critics. They have often argued that a comprehensive education system for adults under public control would undesirably produce bureaucratic constraints, the pedagogical atmosphere of schools, a tendency toward conformity, and theory taught in isolation from subsequent employment.

(3) One central problem in the future development of further education will be the existing gap between vocational/occupational and general education. Private enterprises and most industry and trade associations have long had their own system of occupational training and retraining which is partly financed by federal and state governments. These private activities are, however, not subject to public control, responsibility, or participation. A realistic chance for a comprehensive adult education system lies with the development of the adult education institutes ("Volkshochschulen") which have been established in many towns and cities. This type of adult education is locally controlled, legally guaranteed, and financed by funds from local and state sources. Some of these institutions have already succeeded in developing a comprehensive adult education program with fused occupational and general instruction at a high standard.

The whole spectrum of further education interests and motivation can be summed up in a few statements of purpose:

- General education for adults so that they may be in a better position to understand the nature of the changes taking place in their society and, by virtue of an adequate education, engage themselves in crucial social concerns as well as in work.

- Further education as a means to qualify for higher levels in the job hierarchy by occupational training or extension.

- Further education for developing marketable skills to sustain occupational chances and to gain more occupational flexibility. This kind of education and training mainly refers to young persons to alleviate the problem of transition from school to work or to prevent or terminate underemployment and unemployment of older workers.

Education and training opportunities after first stage of public education

Tables 1 and 2 present data on the change of population, employment, and unemployment to provide a general context for the further discussion of more specific data on education and training.

Table 1. Population, Employment, and Unemployment, 1961-75.

(Thousands)

Item	1961	1970	1975
Population	56,175	60,651	61,829
Labor force	26,821	26,589	26,424
Unemployed*	181	149	1,074
Unemployment rate (percent)	.8	.7	4.7

* Yearly average.

Source: Gesellschaftliche Daten, 1977, Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung (ed.), Wolfenbuttel, 1978 (2. Aufl.), pp. 111, 123.

Table 2. Unemployment and Youth Unemployment, 1958-76.

(Thousands)

Item	1958	1964	1970	1973	1975	1976
Number of unemployed persons	780	169	149	273	1,074	1,060
Number of unemployed youth (age 15 to 24)	49	11	18	51	288	257
Unemployed youth as percent of total unemployed	6.3	6.5	12.1	18.7	26.8	24.2

Source: H. Werner, Maßnahmen zur Verringerung der Jugendarbeitslosigkeit in ausgewahlten Industrielandern, in Mitteilungen aus der Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung, Heft 2, 1978, S. 226.

Participation in organized public adult education

The network of "Volkshochschulen" covers the whole country. These "people's colleges" offer a wide range of subjects for continuing education. Changes in the number of courses, enrollment, and staff are shown in table 3. While the number of institutions has steadily declined since 1965, both the number of courses and total enrollment have increased substantially.

Table 3. Courses, Enrollment. and Staff in Organized Public Adult Education (Volkshochschulen), 1965-1976.

(In thousands)

Item	1965	1970	1973	1975	1976
Number of institutions	6.0	5.3	4.7	4.3	4.0
Number of courses	77.8	109.9	165.9	195.5	209.0
Enrollment	1,695	2,227	3,212	3,761	4,021
Number of single lectures	66.0	60.8	61.2	64.8	69.0
Enrollment	5,086	3,736	3,764	3,748	3,991
Staff:					
Full-time instructors	NA	0.163	0.443	0.606	NA
Part-time instructors	NA	NA	NA	68.541	NA
Principals and administrators	NA	NA	NA	9.949	NA

Source: Bildungspolitische Zwischenbilanz, Bonn, 1976, p. 23;
Bildung im Zahlenspiegel, Stuttgart, 1977, p. 165;
and Grundund Strukturdaten, Bonn, 1977, p. 106.

Adult education participation in courses varies by sex and age groups as shown in table 4. Women outnumber men by a wide margin.

Table 4. Sex and Age of Participants in Organized Public Adult Education, 1968-75.

(Percent of total)

	1968	1970	1975
Sex of participants			
Male	40	39	36
Female	60	61	64
Age of participants			
Under 25 years	48	47	39
25 to 50	40	43	37
50 and over	12	10	14

Source: Bildungspolitische Zwischenbilanz, Bonn, 1976, p. 23;
Bildung im Zahlenspiegel, Stuttgart, 1977, p. 165.

A wide variety of courses is offered. There is interest in highly specialized, as well as more basic, types of education. Table 5 shows the relative number of courses in subject fields.

Basic types of education are increasingly offered; among them high school equivalence certificates and trade school and college entrance certificates. The number of such courses, however, did not yet exceed two percent in 1975.

Revenues and expenditures of the "Volkshochschulen" are shown in table 6.

Table 7 shows the total public outlay for further education, including adult education in "Volkshochschulen" and grants to private sponsors. Further education now commands a somewhat larger, although still very small, proportion of all public education outlays, compared to a decade ago.

Table 5. Subject of Courses in Organized Public Adult Education, 1968-75.

(Percent of all courses)

Subject	1968	1970	1975
Languages	25	28	32
Health and cosmetology	9	10	12
Handicraft	15	13	17
Business and office	11	12	9
Mathematics, natural science, technology	6	6	5
Society, politics	6	4	3
Housekeeping	9	7	8
Art	NA	NA	2
Education, philosophy, psychology	NA	NA	4
Others	NA	17	7

Source: See table 3.

Table 6. Revenues and Expenditures of Volkshochschulen, 1975.

Revenues (millions DM)	281.2
Tuition	88.6
Grants (federal, state, local)	171.3
Other income	21.3
Expenditures (percent distribution by function)	
Administration	28
Instruction	44
Operation	6
Other	22

Source: Bildung im Zahlenspiegel, Stuttgart, 1977, p. 167.

Table 7. Total Federal, State, and Local Expenditure for Further Education, 1965-76.

Year	Billion DM	Percent of all public expenditures for education
1965	293	1.9%
1970	576	2.1
1971	679	2.0
1972	779	2.0
1973	934	2.1
1974	1,336	2.5
1975	1,320	2.3
1976	1,412	NA

Source: Grund- und Strukturdaten, Bonn, 1977, p. 114.

Upgrading the work force at the firm-level

There is hardly any reliable statistical material to be found about firm-level occupational upgrading. Available data suggest that further education/training in private enterprises (firm-level).[4]

- is mainly offered to workers in large companies only;
- reproduces the hierarchy of the work force: unskilled and semiskilled workers are significantly underrepresented in comparison to skilled workers among participants of firm-level training; and
- is heavily concentrated on white collar workers (supervisors, technical and business managers), with the bulk of courses in human relations, personnel counseling, and management techniques.

Data about frequency and number of firm-level offerings are given in table 8.

As indicated by the profile of participants and firms, upgrading is likely to be offered in large industrial firms for employees who already have good professional or vocational qualifications. Since

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[4] Sass, Sengenberger, Weltz: Weiterbildung und betriebliche Arbeitskraftepolitik, Frankfurt/Main, 1974, pp. 60, 90.

Table 8. Frequency and Number of Firm-Level Training Offerings, 1973.

	Number of firms				Number of offerings		
	With training	Without training	Irregular training	Regular training	Total	Internal	External
Firms with							
- 300 to 1,000 employees	34	14	22	12	289	56	233
- more than 1,000 employees	48	3	11	37	644	254	390
- all firms	82	17	33	49	933	310	623
Firms with offerings for							
- managers	79	3	52	27	273	72	201
- technical personnel	78	4	55	23	246	72	174
- business personnel	70	12	49	21	220	71	149
- skilled workers	57	25	37	20	134	49	85
- semiskilled/unskilled workers	32	50	16	16	60	46	14

Source: Sass, Sengenberger, Weltz: Weiterbildung und betriebliche Arbeitskraftepolitik, Frankfurt, 1974, p. 127.

this kind of training is rather informal, it does not grant occupational certifications or promotion.

The offering of further training courses significantly differs from one branch of industry to the other, as table 9 indicates.

Table 9. Participation of Skilled Workers in Upgrading Courses at the Firm-Level, by Industry, 1973.

Industry	Percent of all skilled workers
Printing trades	85%
Electronics	71
Metalworking trades	69
Chemicals	59
Textiles	37

Source: Grund- und Strukturdaten, 1977, Bonn, 1977, pp. 114, 115.

These data do not, however, bear any information on frequency, intensity, or content of these training offerings.

Educational leave

Provisions for paid or unpaid educational leaves from work have not yet been standardized by federal law. Paid/unpaid edcational leave is regulated

- on a federal and state basis for public employees;
- by federal law for works council members and company physicians;
- on a state basis for young workers and trainees (apprentices); and
- in collective bargaining agreements for the particular branch of the economy.

In addition, some states have legislated paid educational leave.

Provisions for paid/unpaid leave from work for educational purposes were written into collective bargaining agreements covering 2.2 million workers (about 10 percent of all workers in 1973).

Table 10 shows their proportion in various branches of the economy.

Table 10. Paid or Unpaid Educational Leaves of Absence in Collective Bargaining Agreements, by Industry, 1973.

Industry	Number of covered workers	Percent of all workers
Agriculture, horticulture, and forestry	112,000	39.3%
Consumer goods	489,000	26.4
Communication, television, transport	247,000	26.2
Mining, energy	81,000	16.0

Source: Demokratische Erziehung, May 1976, p. 593.

Educational leave is granted

- for specific groups of workers in connection with a function (i.e., in labor unions, youth counseling, etc.) or to participate in organized training to upgrade a skill; and
- for workers in general to participate in occupational or general/political educational activities.

The difference between fully paid educational leave with continued wage earnings and granted absence from work without financial compensation has to be observed.

Further education as an opportunity to alleviate the problem of unemployment, underemployment, and of the transition from school to work for young people

The current problem of youth unemployment has been caused by unfavorable demographic and economic settings: the growing number of youth looking for work has been confronted with an economic recession period. Employment demand has been declining; the tightening of the labor market has hit those workers most who lacked the preparation, experience, and skills to get and hold a job. The data in table 11 document the number of unemployed, their age, and educational attainment. (For the rate of youth unemployment, see table 2.)

Table 11. Unemployment and Educational Attainment, May 1977.

Level of education	Number of unemployed	Unemployed without occupational training	Unemployed with occupational training		
			Apprenticeship	Non-collegiate higher education	College/ university
Less than 9 years completed (ohne Hauptschulabschluss)	111,023	101,638	9,071	314	--
9 years completed (Hauptschulabschluss)	628,742	324,767	282,732	21,240	--
10 years completed (Mittlere Reife)	97,940	29,514	46,449	18,231	3,746
13 years completed (Hochschulreife)	57,447	13,354	4,922	3,175	35,996
Education unknown	51,339	44,976	5,103	1,260	--
All	949,491	514,249	248,280	44,216	49,742
All under 20 years old	87,342	62,436	23,177	1,729	--

Source: Bildungspolitische Informationen, January 1978, Wiesbaden, 1978, p. 27.

Public manpower development and training programs of substantial extent can be traced back to 1968 when the first cyclical recession period after the war hit the West German economy. These programs provided training for upgrading skills; it was hoped that they would enhance the employability of hard-to-employ and older workers. To some extent, the Bundesanstalt fur Arbeit also sponsored retraining programs and on-the-job training.

This earlier period (1968 to 1973) focused on structural problems in the labor market; in these years, unemployment did not exceed 1.1 percent. The current period, beginning in 1974 with 2.6 percent unemployed persons in the population, has been marked by a steady increase of general as well as youth unemployment.

In response to rising unemployment levels, the Federal Administration for Employment (Bundesanstalt fur Arbeit) provided remedial education, training (upgrading and retraining), and work experience. These programs were different from those conducted between 1968 and 1973. They can be characterized as follows:

- financial support for employers to provide employment for older workers and on-the-job adjustment for unemployed;
- training programs to prepare youth to move smoothly to places of work; and
- development of local pilot projects designed to give unemployed young persons first work-experience to improve their chance to find a job.

Table 12 shows the age of participants in occupational training programs sponsored by the Bundesanstalt fur Arbeit.

Table 12. Age Structure of Participants in Occupational Training Sponsored by the Bundesanstalt fur Arbeit, 1974 and 1975.

	Number of participants	
Age group	1974	1975
Under 30 years old	130,248	151,615
30-40	75,115	84,231
40-50	22,641	28,420

Source: Bildung im Zahlenspiegel, Stuttgart, 1977, pp. 170, 171.

The length of these programs is shown in table 13.

Table 13. Length of Training Sponsored by the Bundesanstalt fur Arbeit, 1974 to 1976.

	Number of participants (thousands)								
	1974			1975			1976		
Type of program	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)
Up to 3 months	42.7	2.1	3.9	58.1	2.5	5.8	23.8	1.3	4.8
4-6 months	37.9	5.4	4.6	51.9	5.4	9.2	30.7	2.5	7.5
7-12 months	41.5	9.4	1.4	46.3	10.8	2.7	30.5	5.3	2.7
13-18 months	15.1	7.7	--	15.3	6.4	--	9.7	3.8	--
19-24 months	38.3	8.2	--	33.1	8.1	--	14.9	4.8	--
25-36 months	8.5	3.2	--	9.2	3.1	--	5.9	1.2	--
37 and more months	1.7	--	--	2.3	--	--	1.6	--	--

(a) Upgrading.
(b) Retraining.
(c) On-the-job adjustment.

Source: Bildung im Zahlenspiegel, 1977, Stuttgart, 1977, pp. 172, 173; Bildung im Zahlenspiegel, 1978, Stuttgart, 1978, p. 114.

The data in table 13 demonstrate that upgrading programs increased in length. They by far dominate the activities of the Bundesanstalt fur Arbeit. Table 14 provides some information about the type of training sponsored by the Bundesanstalt fur Arbeit.

Table 14. Type of Training Sponsored by the Bundesanstalt fur Arbeit, 1974 to 1976.

	Number of participants		
Type of training	1974	1975	1976
Full-time training	159,109	192,697	98,388
Part-time training	70,381	74,390	51,185
Correspondence training	3,107	3,766	1,954

Source: Bildung im Zahlenspiegel, 1977, Stuttgart, 1977, p. 1973;
Bildung im Zahlenspiegel, 1978, Stuttgart, 1978, p. 114.

Preparation for new occupational fields is usually carried out on a full-time basis, while upgrading programs are provided as part-time as well as full-time training. Correspondence training is only performed for upgrading; enrollees in these programs are usually qualified for technical professions.

The average rate for successful completion of training programs (retraining and upgrading) is between 86 and 90 percent; it increases with additional formal education.

A breakdown of participants according to their previous level of occupational training (see table 16) indicates that a large part of subsidized training sponsored by the Bundesanstalt fur Arbeit has been directed towards the training of apprentices. This type of training is not defined as "further education" and thus is not further characterized in this report. It is mentioned in this context because the budget of the Bundesanstalt fur Arbeit does not differentiate between apprenticeship training and manpower and training programs for unemployed or underemployed persons. The expenditures of the Bundesanstalt fur Arbeit for occupational training programs (including subsidies for apprenticeship training) are shown in table 17.

Table 15. Previous Formal Education Level of Participants in Training Courses Sponsored by the Bundesanstalt fur Arbeit, 1974 to 1976.

Level of formal education	Number of participants		
	1974	1975	1976
Elementary or high school dropout (8 years or less)	3,526	9,595	8,675
Elementary or high school graduates (9-10 years)	127,931	208,976	185,503
Business school/trade school/ technical institute			
- Dropout (10-12 years)	3,544	5,132	4,308
- Graduates (12 years)	29,369	46,419	47,048
Abitur-graduates (college preparatory) after 13 years	2,843	5,096	5,152
College, university			
- Some college	206	293	253
- College and university graduates	952	1,658	1,553

Source: Bildung im Zahlenspiegel, 1977, Stuttgart, 1977, pp. 178, 179;
Bildung im Zahlenspiegel, 1978, Stuttgart, 1978, p. 115.

Table 16. Occupational Training Level of Participants in Training Courses Sponsored by the Bundesanstalt fur Arbeit, 1974-76.

Level of occupational training	1974	1975	1976
No occupational training	25,106	51,068	48,343
On-the-job training	6,724	18,224	20,307
Apprenticeship			
Successful completion	126,419	191,629	169,470
No completion	2,985	5,800	5,166
Other occupational training	7,137	10,448	9,206

Source: Bildung im Zahlenspiegel, 1977, Stuttgart, 1977, pp. 179, 180;
Bildung im Zahlenspiegel, 1978, Stuttgart, 1978, p. 115.

Table 17. Expenditures for Occupational Training Sponsored by the Bundesanstalt fur Arbeit, 1970-76.

Year	Billion DM
1970	0.9
1971	1.7
1972	2.0
1973	2.1
1974	2.5
1975	3.3
1976	2.6

NOTE.—Training refers to that described in table 16.

Source: Grund- und Strukturdaten, 1977, Bonn, 1977, p. 114.

II. Characteristics and Problems of Further Education in France

The long dispute over new legal provisions for further education came to a culmination in 1971. The law on organization of further education in connection with permanent education was passed and established the basis for the present system of public further education.

Paragraph I of this law defines the objectives of further education:

> Permanent vocational training is a national commitment. It is established as basic and further education for adults and young workers or those who intend to resume a job. Occupational training programs constitute occupational education which is a part of "education permanente." Its objective is to provide employed persons with the opportunity of adaptation to the changing conditions of work and technology, and of supporting their social advancement and their participation in cultural, economic and social affairs.[5]

Eight parts of this law describe the steps to be taken to realize the objectives of further education:

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[5] Gavoty, L'organisation de la formation continue. In Avenirs, October 1972, p. 15.

- Part I identifies the institutions to provide coordination between the government and its departments and labor union and employer associations.

- Part II establishes the regulations for agreements to coordinate demand and supply of further training.

- Part III provides regulations for leaves of absence from work.

- Part IV provides rules for granting subsidies for adult education in agreement with certain priorities.

- Part V provides the contribution of employers for financing further education activities. Any firms with more than 10 employees are obliged to contribute 0.8 to 1.0 percent of the yearly wage total for further education.

- Part VI provides the financial grants given to individuals participating in further education activities.

- Parts VII and VIII refer to special labor market groups (public employees and farm and trade workers).

The law of 1971 has caused the development of structural discrepancies between the objectives of the law, on one hand, and the application of further education, on the other. The law does not determine any rules and regulations for further education. The application solely depends on the provisions in collective bargaining agreements and thus differs from industry to industry. This diversity is increased by legal provisions with regard to the structure of financial support for further education: There are state funds, joint public-private employer funds, and private funds.

These subsidies are available for:[6]

- training programs designed to enable a worker to transfer from one job to some other suitable form of employment;

- for hiring employees who must have an initial period of occupational adjustment to a new job or qualification to achieve maximum efficiency;

- training to upgrade skills; and

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6. Delplancke, La formation permanente, Paris, 1975, p. 542.

- prevocational or special in-depth training.

Initially, the objectives of further education were mainly manpower and skill development for underprivileged members of the labor force. With their training or wages subsidized by the Government, it was hoped that they caught up with the process of technical change.

When the economic recession period began, further education activities were directed toward providing employment, on one hand, and toward declining the number of unemployed persons by providing training and education opportunities for them, on the other. Table II-1 shows the employment growth between 1960 and 1976 and the drastic increase of unemployment between 1973 and 1976.

Education and training opportunities for workers

The development of further education in France can be characterized as follows:

Government grants were mainly directed toward improving the job situation of socially underprivileged persons, such as foreign workers, unskilled and physically handicapped persons, and women. Since 1972, these grants were also used to moderate employment problems caused by structural economic changes.

Cooperative efforts between the Government and employers predominated in activities for unemployed youth and retraining and upgrading programs for unemployed adult workers.

This difference in allocating funds reflected by target groups and type of programs shows that the aim of Government activities in further education was to improve social and working conditions for those who were particularly disadvantaged in the labor market.

The use of employer funds had different objectives and problems. These expenditures were authorized for further training for adaptation to new technological developments, for upgrading highly developed technical skills, and for improving the general occupational performance in the firm. This kind of training was usually provided for already highly trained manpower. It may be defined as securing the smooth functioning of the firm. Programs of this kind were mainly offered at firm-level. From the figures given in table II-2, it can be seen that the employers' expenditures for training increased more rapidly than public funding.

Statistical differences between participants in Government and employer-funded programs are shown in table II-6. The comparable figures show a decrease in the number of participants of state-funded and a substantial growth of enrollees in employer-funded and joint-funds training programs. These data also indicate that in 1976, one out of eight employed persons participated in some form of further training activity. The average number of hours of instruction was 120.

Table II-1. Population, Labor Force, and Unemployment, 1960-76.

(Millions)

Item	1960	1965	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Population	45.2	48.6	50.2	--	52.0	--	--	--	--
Labor force	18.7	19.5	20.4	20.5	20.7	20.9	21.1	20.7	20.9
Unemployed	0.239	0.269	0.356	0.456	0.492	0.576	--	0.889	0.993
Unemployment rate (percent)	1.7	1.3	1.7	2.2	2.3	2.7	2.3	4.3	4.7

Source: INSEE, Economie et statistique no. 69, July/August 1975, p. 36; SPEG; Enquete sur l'Emploi; OECD.

Table II-2. Expenditures on Further Education by Source of Funding, 1972-76.

(Million French francs)

Year	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
State funded	1.7	2.0	2.3	2.7	3.1
Employer funded	2.8	3.7	5.0	5.8	6.2

Source: Actualite de la formation permanente no. 30, September/October 1977, p. 39.

Table II-3. Participants and Hours of Instruction in Further Education, by Source of Funds, 1972-76.

(Thousands)

Item	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Participants:					
State funded	958	956	888	877	782
Employer funded	1,049	1,492	1,790	1,840	1,740
Joint funds	--	33	60	120	190
All	1,760	2,260	2,550	2,720	2,670
Hours of instruction:					
State funded	182,000	180,000	185,000	180,000	185,000
Employer funded	78,000	103,000	110,000	110,000	101,000
Joint funds	--	2,000	5,000	8,000	16,000
All	241,000	268,000	288,000	291,000	300,000

Source: Actualite de la formation permanente no. 30, September/October 1977, p. 39.

Table II-4. Participants in Further Education Activities Subsidized by Public Funds and by Qualification Level of Trainee, 1972-76.

(Thousands)

Level	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
I and II	56	58	44	41	23
III	90	111	103	102	75
IV	153	144	120	122	112
V and VI	234	251	244	245	247
All	533	564	511	510	457

Definitions of levels:

I, II:	University graduation (license)
III :	College degree or equivalent (IUT)
IV :	Associate degree, non-collegiate technical school (graduate), or occupational equivalent (technician, certified craftsman)
V :	Certified skilled worker
Va :	Vocational high school (graduation)
VI :	High school education, general courses with no vocational training.

Source: Actualite de la formation permanente no. 30, September/October 1977, p. 44.

Table II-5. Participants in Further Education Activities Sponsored by Private Enterprises, by Type of Training, 1973-76.

(Thousands)

Type of training	1973	1974	1975	1976
Retraining	19	29	42	50
Occupational adjustment	247	303	257	223
Upgrading, promotion	203	241	245	210
In-depth training	1,172	1,140	1,536	1,489
All	1,641	1,972	2,080	1,972

Source: Actualite de la formation permanente no. 30, September/ October 1977, p. 49.

Table II-6. Participants in Further Education Subsidized by Public Funds, by Length of Training, 1972-76.

(Thousands)

Length	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Less than 80 hours	125	157	110	110	53
80-119 hours	43	39	40	39	21
120-299 hours	128	132	130	117	92
300-599 hours	41	45	43	44	61
600-1,099 hours	76	61	61	76	69
1,100 hours or more	35	40	43	44	39
All	533	564	511	510	457

Source: Actualite de la formation permanente no. 30, September/ October 1977, p. 43.

The review of statistical trends in further education between 1972 and 1976 suggests that this period was one of considerable change. It seems that further education was split into two segments: public further education was increasingly offered to "peripheral workers" to further their economic well-being and to improve their social status. At the same time, private firms built up their own system of training, which was supported by public funds. This training was directed towards workers of the "core labor market," i.e., workers with already highly developed skills in stable jobs. The purpose of their training was to develop their skills for more demanding tasks. The rationale was purely economic need of the firm. Consequently, this type of training was mainly carried out at the firm level or as a joint activity of two or more firms.[7]

This section has attempted to consider questions about the development and direction of further education in France. What conclusions can be reached on the basis of the material and data presented here?

Since 1973, state activities have been concentrated on long-range objectives, such as preoccupational education for a smooth transition from schooling to work, retraining activities for the unemployed, and activities to prevent and alleviate discrepancies between supply and demand for certain qualifications. Most training activities (90 percent) are offered to employees who have already had some vocational training. This change in public policy reflects a reorientation of the provisions of the 1971 law: the coexistence and equal funding of general education and vocational training has been given up in favor of increased support for the latter. The antagonistic interests of the Government and private firms has prevented the development of a comprehensive system of further education. As a result of diversity in operations, objectives, and methods of instruction, the question of certification and official approval plays only a minor role.

Further education as a reform to alleviate the problems of youth unemployment

Since 1973, youth unemployment has become a grave social problem. Almost 50 percent of all persons seeking employment are less than 25 years old, although this age group represents only 17 percent of the total number of employed persons. Table II-7 shows the rate of youth unemployment between 1966 and 1976.

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[7] R. Hein, Gewerkschaften und Weiterbildung, Meisenheim, 1977.

Table II-7. Youth Unemployment, 1966-76.

(Percent of all unemployment)

Year	Percent
1966	19.4%
1967	21.4
1968	23.7
1969	19.7
1970	23.0
1971	27.1
1972	27.2
1973	34.6
1974	45.8
1975	46.4
1976	48.2

Source: Association des ages, les jeunes et le premier emploi, Paris, 1978, p. 93.

The high rate of youth unemployment is independent of the qualification level of the young people seeking employment. This group has found it increasingly difficult to move smoothly from educational institutions to places of work. The figures in table II-8 indicate this context.

The discrepancy between youth unemployment and youth labor force participation has raised questions about the underlying causal context. Was the relationship between education and work to be blamed; or more precisely, the inadequacy of educational preparation for job performance? The statistical data presented in tables II-8 and II-9 indicate that among young workers, there was no relevant difference in the unemployment rates with respect to their qualification level. From this evidence, it can be said that unemployment represents a strong indicator of the supply-demand balance. Here, as in other aspects of market performance, there has been a marked deterioration in the status of all workers, with young workers having an increasingly difficult time obtaining jobs. In 1976, the rate of unemployed youth stood at 48.2 percent (see table II-7), far in excess of the national average for workers (4.7 percent, see table II-1). This suggests that unemployment of young people does not depend on their inadequate educational preparation, but on market factors such as hiring and screening patterns, or the supply-demand imbalance, for example.

Table II-8. Distribution of the Labor Force and of Unemployed Persons under 25 Years of Age, by Level of Education/Skill, June 1975, 1976, and 1977.

(Percent distribution)

Level of skill/education	Unemployed youth June 1975	 June 1976	 June 1977	Youth labor force
Levels I and II	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.7
Level III	1.5	1.7	2.2	2.9
Level IV	8.9	10.5	9.6	7.4
Level V	49.6	50.4	51.8	35.7
Levels Vb and VI	39.7	37.1	35.9	50.3
All	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

NOTE.—See table II-4 for definition of levels.

Source: Division des Etudes et Programmes. Agence Nationale pour l'Emploi. Les jeunes demandeurs d'emploi inscrits a l'A.N.P.E., 1974-75. Dossier statistique, in Association des ages (eds.), Les jeunes et le premier emploi, Paris, 1978, p. 21.

Table II-9. Duration of Unemployment of School Leavers with Different Education Levels and by Sex, 1971-72, 1976.

Sex and level of education	1971-72		1976	
	Duration of unemployment			
	Less than one month	More than six months	Less than two months	More than six months
Men				
Vocational school graduate	62%	6%	27%	45%
Vocational college graduate	40	16	32	32
Women				
Vocational school graduate	61	7	18	66
Vocational college graduate	27	23	19	48

Source: Note d'information du Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Qualifications (CEREQ), no. 41, p. 6, and Grapin Capdeville, L'insertion professionnelle a la sortie du systeme scolaire, in Economie et statistique 81-82, October 1976, p. 63.

The supply-demand balance/imbalance was statistically observed in State Plan IV (1960-65); Plan V already provided a commission to compare the number of educated with the demand for manpower of different skill levels. Plan VI (1970-75) provided the "Intergroupe Formation, qualification professionnelles" to study the transition problems to recommend policy steps to be taken to alleviate this problem.[8]

A study group on education and employment was appointed to prepare adequate proposals for State Plan VII (1976-81). The group came to the conclusion that changes in the educational system would not be able to alleviate the current employment crisis, since no causal relationship could be found between education and unemployment.[9]

The commission found some important interactions between education and work and formulated the following objectives to improve the transition from education to the employment sector:

- to provide every young person with an employable skill;
- to improve certain training opportunities for unemployed persons; and
- to use education resources for the improvement of work conditions.

Solving the problem of youth unemployment has become a pressing political problem, since long-term unemployment in this age group has increased significantly. This has contributed to the considerable segmentation of the labor market.

The problem to be solved by Plan VII is the placement of more than 350,000 (from a total of 800,000) school leavers who have not graduated. The education commission suggests the following steps be taken:

1. A broad general education for all without early differentiation or sorting.
2. A broad vocational training without narrow specialization closely connected to public education.

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8. Note d'information du CEREQ, May 1975, p. 23.

9. Commissariat General du Plan, Rapport de la Commission Education et Formation, Paris, 1976, p. 43.

3. Students who fail to complete vocational training (apprenticeship connected with regular instruction) in vocational schools or BEP (Brevet d'etudes professionnelles) should be provided a one-year training course.

This long-term program requires some fundamental structural changes in the public school system. For a transition period, the commission suggests an ad hoc program to cover 50,000 young adults yearly:

- Prevocational training (stages de preformation) should be established for young adults without sufficient general education for social and vocational orientation. Participants should be instructed in basic skills in a four-month training course. These "stages de preformation" aim at returning the participants to school or at starting an apprenticeship or a vocational education.

- Vocational education (stages de preparation a la vie professionnelle) should support the transition from school to work. Training is offered in courses from eight months to one year; they include general education subjects as well as exploration phases at work sites.

- Contracts of training and employment (contrats emploi-formation) should be offered to students who immediately transfer from school to work. They obtain firm-level training for occupational adjustment up to one year.

- Experimental programs should be established for young adults who are confronted with extreme difficulties in finding a job. Preparation courses for them will last one to two years.

These action programs will be pursued in a joint effort by employers, labor unions, and government. Expenses for social security, insurance, and allowances for participants are paid from public funds. This action program was included in the July 1977 law (pacte national pour l'emploi) to eliminate youth unemployment. It is difficult to assess the effectiveness of the different approaches, since it cannot be anticipated whether employment will be increased by this training.

III. Further Education in France and Germany (F.R.) in Comparative Perspective

Governmental policies have a sizable impact on both the supply and the demand sides of the labor market. Public subsidization and tuition policies and decisions to expand or contract educational systems have influenced and will continue to influence employment and unemployment.

In France, as well as in Germany (F.R.), it was planned to upgrade skills and to improve general education within a comprehensive system of further education.[10] The cyclical crisis with its culmination point in the 1973-76 recession period considerably changed the picture of further education in both countries. Further education and training was used to alleviate unemployment which had become a grave social problem in all European countries and in the United States.

While the activities to alleviate the problem of unemployment (especially among young people) in France and Germany (F.R.) are extremely diverse, official policies in both countries proceed from the assumption that there is a causal relationship between loss of job (or unemployment) and low qualification. The data presented here suggest that unemployment can be attributed to purely economic reasons. Unemployment results from cyclical changes in the economy, which in turn may partly depend on technical innovations or political events. Structural forces are also at work. Which sectors of the work force are afflicted by unemployment and how long depends on characteristics such as sex, foreign origin, race, specific occupation, and general occupational status.

This context should be kept in mind when programs and activities are reviewed which aim at employing or educating low-skill unemployed persons. The purpose is to improve their chance of employment by raising their skill level.

It seems that there has been a political necessity to avoid the problem of unemployment being connected with cyclical changes of the economy. Officially, unemployment has been linked with educational attainment; thus it has become possible to interpret unemployment as a personal failure of the individual. Thus, an unemployed person could well be blamed for his or her fate. The strategies to lower and prevent unemployment are based on that doubtful assumption:

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10. The General Plan for Education in Germany (F.R.) is only one example for almost all policy positions on further education held until 1973: "In the future more people must be in a position to acquire new knowledge and aptitudes because of increasing and ever more rapidly changing social and vocational demands." Bund-Lander-Commission for Educational Planning, Stuttgart, 1973, p. 34.

Every year more public funds have been granted for education, training, and retraining of unemployed and underemployed persons.

In Germany (F.R.), for example, labor force conditions in the recession phase which has been prevailing since 1970 have forced the Federal Administration for Employment to practice whatever is most urgent to do in order to decrease unemployment. Since unemployment benefits amount to between DM 15,000 and DM 18,000 per year per unemployed person, it has been seen feasible rather to finance the returning to education of those who were laid off and could not immediately find another job. Expenditures for grants to promote vocational education under vocational upgrading, retraining, and rehabilitation programs have significantly increased since 1969.

The description and analysis of the system of further education in France and Germany (F.R.) suggest that education and training activities for adult workers are predominantly established and conducted

- to socialize workers into a desired pattern of economic, social, and work behavior;
- to correct disfunctions of the economy by intervening in the labor market (channeling unemployed into education); and
- to promote active human manpower investments by upgrading the skills of those members of the labor force who are already equipped with high vocational or professional qualifications and who are likely to belong to the primary labor market.

As for a comprehensive system of further education in both countries, this development has caused its end before it has been theoretically designed.

Acknowledgments.

I received both direct and indirect help in writing this review from Dr. Stanley D. Nollen, Public Services Laboratory, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., who made valuable editorial suggestions, and Dr. Bruno Nieser, Research Center for Comparative Education, University of Marburg, who provided useful material and data on France. More indirectly, the paper owes much to Ms. Helen Tashjian, Statistical Information Branch, National Center for Education Statistics, Washington, D.C.

Unfortunately, blame for errors of omissions or commissions rest solely with me.

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